

AN ANSWER
TO A TREATISE WRIT-
TEN BY Dr. CARIER,
By way of Letter to his MAIESTIE :
WHEREIN HE LAYETH
DOWNE SVNDRY POLITIKE
CONSIDERATIONS,

By which hee pretendeth himselfe was moued,
And endeouoreth to moue others to be reconciled to the
Church of ROME, and imbrace that Religion,
which he calleth CATHOLIKE.

By GEORGE HAKEWIL, *Doctour of Diuinity,*
And Chapleine to the PRINCE his Highnesse.

B. C.

* *Mine heart will utter forth a good matter, I will intreat in
my workes of the King.*

G. H.

Giue thy iudgements to the King, (O God,) and thy righ-
teousnesse to the Kings sonne.

* I cannot but
maruelle that M.
Doctour in in-
ueighing so
much against
that which hee
calls the new re-
ligion should in
quoting thereof
for sake the old
translation,

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by IOHN BILL. 1616.

Cum Priuilegio.



TO THE KINGS
MOST EXCELLENT
MAIESTIE.

DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

HAD this Letter of Dr. Carier
beene imparted, or the drift of it
onely reached to your Maiestie, it
would haue deserued none other an-
swere then your Maiesties priuate
censure; and might well haue beene buried in silence
with the Author of it: But now that it not only aymes
in particular at all the members of the bodie Politike,
First the Nobles, then the Commons, and lastly the
Clergie; but withall is published to the view of the
World, and spread through all the quarters of your
Land, for the better effecting of that it aymes vnto;
and is not a little magnified by the Romish faction:
It must needs argue in vs, either want of wisdom
in preuenting a mischiese, or of power in providing
a 2 for

for our owne safetie, or of zeale and sinceritie in our loue to the Trueth, if it should passe without some discouery, as well of the malicious scope to which it tends, as the weakenesse of the arguments by which it endeouours to perswade.

The maine end which it driues at, is either a totall reconcilment to the Church of Rome; or if that cannot be, a partiall toleration of the Romish Religion.

The generall meanes by which it strives to compassethis end, are first by working a distraction euen amongst those your Subiects, who euery way conformethemselues aswell to the doctrine, as the discipline of the Church of England, establisbed by public allowance, in making some Puritanes, and some

1 Cap. 2. Sect. 41.

Protestants, who in his language¹ can endure the state of the Church of England as it is, but could be content it were as it was: (implying thereby the rest to be Puritanes) some Calvinists and some

2 Cap. 2. Sect. 45

temperate men,² who can not but in iudgment approue the trueth of that Religion which he calles Catholike, (thereby implying the rest to be Calvinists) the one he termes the greatest enemies of the Clergie, the other his honest and louing brethren, wherof he professeth he knew many, and himselfe to be one: whereas in trueth if any such there be, the difference should rather haue

beene

beene made betwixt Protestants and Papists, English and Romish Catholikes, since they who could be content the Church of England were as it was before the Reformation, can in my iudgement be none other then Papists; and those that in their iudgement approue the doctrine of the pretended Catholike Religion, can (as farre as I apprehend it) be none other then Romish Catholikes. Thus those whom we call Papists, he calles Temperate Protestants, and those whom we call Protestants, he calles State Puritanes.

The second generall meanes for the compassing of his desired end, is an indenuour to worke an utter separation betwixt our Church and other reformed Churches, specially those of France and the Netherlands; whom therefore in contempt hee calls Hugonots, and Geux, and their doctrine Calvinisme; intending thereby, (as I conceiue) either to weaken our strength, by leauing vs to stand single, or, which is worse, to inforce vs at length to relapse upon Rome: And to this purpose is hee bold to affirme, that their doctrine makes as much against the Religion of England, as that of Rome; whereas the writings of the most learned men, aswell on their, as on our side, our harmonies of Confessions, the testimonie of our aduersaries, nay, the Pope himselfe in his Bull against Queene ELIZABETH, your Ma-

3 Impia myste-
ria & instituta
ad Caluini præ-
scriptum à se sus-
cepta & observa-
ta, etiam à subdi-
tis seruari man-
dauit, circa med.
bull.

4 La charité
que nous por-
tons aux fleurs
estats nos voisins
& confederex. In
sants profession
de la meisme re-
ligion auecques
nous.

*Declaration ten-
chant le sacst de
Conradus Vorstinus,
pag. 6.*

Meslieurs les e-
stats doncques
estants non
seulement nos
alliez mais le
principallion de
nostre coniu-
ction estant no-
stre vniformité
en la vraye re-
ligion. pag. 40.
Mais la religion
dont moy & eux
faisons professi-
on n'a esté ingée
en aucun concile
ou nous ayons
esté ouys: *Spea-
king of those of the
reformed religion
in France, desensé
du droit des Rois,
pag. 82.*

Ce qu'il dit que
les heretiques de
France, font leur
profit de ceste
diuision est fon-
dée sur ceste pro-
position que
ceux de la religi-
on Chrétienne
reformée cest a
dire repurgée du
papisme sont he-
retiques ce qui se
promouera quand
vn aura fait vn
autre euangile
ou forgé vn au-
tre bible. pag. 109

iesties + Bookes, and practise in the watching of
that Noble Ladie, your daughter, and in permitting
those Churches the free exercise of their Religion
within your dominions, so plainly euince the contra-
rie, that I wonder, hauing let fall so foule a blot from
his pen, he durst present it to your Maiesties view:
and yet I needs not wonder, considering hee was not
ashamed to tell your Maiesty, that for any thing you
haue written in your Apologie, or Premonition,
you may when you please, admitte the Popes Supre-
macie in spirituals: which must needes argue, either
that he was meerely ignorant what your Maiesty had
written, or cared not at all what himselfe wrote; re-
garding rather the euennesse of his Stile, and the ca-
dencie of his sentences, then the trueth of his asserti-
ons; like false windowes, bearing proportion with the
rest of the building, but without light.

By the trueth of these assertions, your Maiestic
may make an estimate of the whole piece, in which, if
I can iudge any thing, I haue not met within the nar-
row compasse of so short a treatise, so formally pend,
and carrying so faire an outside; so many weake ar-
guments, so many grosse mistakes, so many notori-
ous falshoods, so many irreconciliable contradicti-
ons, so many sandie and disioynted consequences:
howsoeuer were his proofes neuer so strong, so sure,
so true, so consonant, so coherent; yet was hee a man
most

most vnfit to intermeddle in a businesse of vnion, and pacification; who was so farre engaged to one partie, as by his owne acknowledgement hee was perswaded, that all the Religion at this day prescribed, and practised by the Church of Rome, is the true Catholike Religion; and promiseth particularly to iustifie it from point to point, when time and opportunitie should serue: and your Maiestie, together with vs of the same profession, he rangeth⁶ among Iewes, and Infidels, and heretiques, for refusing to ioine with them in the worship of Christ in the Sacrament.

5 Cap. 1. Sect. 20.

6 Cap. 1. Sect. 13.

But God blessed not his vaine proiect, M^r. Henric Constable dying within fortnight after he came from Paris, by Cardinall Perrons appointment, to Leidge, to conferre with him; and himselfe a while after in Paris, within a moneth of his comming thither to conferre with the Cardinall; yet as the Apostle speakes of Abel, being dead, he yet speaketh, though in a different manner, and the speach of dead men commonly prooues more effectually, more profitable, or more dangerous then that of the liuing.

For your Maiesty, there is (God be thanked) no feare at all; the obligations by which you haue tied your selfe to the Religion established amongst vs, being so many and so strong, and withall his motiues for inducement to the contrary, so weake; dealing with your Maiesty as the deuill did with our Saviour, who
being

being beaten from Scripture, fell to the promising of the glory of kingdomes, which notwithstanding was not in his power to performe; onely for their sakes, some Replie seemed not unnecessary, of whom it may truely be sayd, which hee falsly affirmes of your Maiesty, that⁷ they imbrace shadowes in stead of substances, which as a matter of high commendation, he solemnely protests, he gladly wrote, and so gaue it out with all the honour hee could of your Maiesty: But such kinde of commendation, as your Maiesty truely telleth Cardinall Perron, is none other, then if a man should commend a souldier for his faire haire, and call him coward to his face.

7 Cap. 2. Sect. 6.

Now because the Letter, (though not without some marke of presumption) is by the Author, not onely dedicated, but throughout directed to your Maiesty, (as if he meant to fight, neither with small nor great, saue onely against the King) I was imboldned humbly to submit this my defence of truth to the Royall arbitrement of the same sacred, and vnpartiall vmpire, hoping to find the censure somewhat more fauourable, in as much, as I haue made bold to borrow the greatest part of my weapons, both offensive and defensue, from the rich armourie of your Maiesties writings, wherein already, though seuered, as in the tower of DAVID, built for defence,

hang

hang a thousand shields and all the targets of the strong men: but being ranged into one volume as united forces, they would doubtlesse haue more strength, as well to assault as to resist, both the tongues and pens of men, and the teeth of time: Having lighted my candle then at your Maiesties torch, I thought my selfe in duety bound to offer it vpon the same altar againe.

Hee was your Maiesties seruant, and so am I, both unworthy, though in a different respect; hee sworne to serue your Maiestie, which how he performed at last, this Letter can best speake, and your Maiestie best iudge; my selfe sworne to your Maiestie, for the seruice of your most Noble Sonne the Prince, my most sweete and gracious Master, whose quicknesse of Spirit, loue of Vertue, and sense of true Religion, though I haue now by a good space obserued sensibly to grow faster then his yeeres, yet being but tender in age, and consequently not fully ripened in iudgment; I thought I might herein doe him some seruice for his better information, to marke out vnto him such passages in your Maiesties writings, as serue for a satisfaction to such passages of the letter as may concerne him; hoping thereby hee may somewhat the rather bee moued to goe on as hee hath happily begunne, till hee arriue to that perfection which Plinie com-

b

mends

*poly Epidore
videtur*

moderation

mends to Traian, Facere scribenda, scribere legenda. I conclude with that repetition of the prayer of David for you both: Giue thy iudgements to the King (O God) and thy righteousness to the Kings sonne; that your dayes may bee vpon earth as the dayes of heauen, both for glory and lasting, and for your Maiesty, with that acclamation of the Romans to their Emperours,

De nostris annis tibi Iupiter augeat annos.

YOUR MAIESTIES most humbly

denoted subiect and seruants,

GEORGE HAKEVVIL.

The



THE AUTHOR

to the Reader.

WHAT D^r. *Carrier* was for his ranke, the degrees and places of charge hee held and passed through (expressed at large in the *Printers Epistle, prefixed to his Letter*) will speake sufficiently, though I were silent; what for his learning, this Letter will partly testifie; and for his other qualities such informations as were offered mee, though by men of credite, and I could haue gathered out of diuers of his Letters and Papers, which I haue in mine hands, I chose rather to suppress in silence then to publish: His immoderate *Ambition* alone, (which himselfe so freely acknowledgeth in diuers places) was doubtlesse sufficient to corrupt a stronger iudgement then his, in matter of Religion; specially being crossed in his designs: That was it, which cast the *Angels* out of heauen, and *Adam* out of *Paradise*, and still casteth most *Apostates* out of the Church.

Ambition sayeth one (whom *Master Doctor* in his Letter deseruedly commendeth for a worthy Gentleman) is like *choler, which is an humour that maketh men*

active, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped and can not have his way it becometh adust, and thereby malignant and venomous: so ambitious men if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are busie rather then dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires they become secretly discontent and looke upon men and masters with an envious eye; and if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

Now, what opinion was helde of him abroad by Romish Catholikes, after his departure from vs and our Church, let Pelitier and Fitz-Simon testifie, the one in French, the other in Latine. ¹ *La memoire de cest homme de bien* (sayeth Pelitier) *estant grandement recommandable pour l'innocence & probité de ses mœurs; qu'aussi pour le grand zeale qu'il a eu de chercher son salut; Car estant personnage de singuliere erudition et fort versé en la lecture des Saints Peres, il recogneut en fin dans leurs escripts Comme dans vne glace luisante, la viue image de l'Eglise Catholique tant aux points essentielles de la Religion qu'en la police, et gouvernement d'icelle.* Hitherto Pelitier; but Fitz-Simon goes further. ² *Inter quos* (sayeth hee)

¹ Discours de la mort du Sieur Carier, &c.

² Britannom. minist. lib. 3. cap. 5. part. 8.

³ This can ill be applied to D. Carier, who often tooke the oath of Supremacie, & more often Recognized it in his prayer before his Sermons.

⁴ Pag. 220. Where among such famous Doctors as were converted lately to the Romish Religion hee reckons Dr. Ball for one.

nouum fidus Catholicorum omnium gaudio refulgens, ut laudum suarum insistant vestigijs, utq; mentem ac linguam sceleri seruent ³ *iniuratum, praeclucet; Cum igitur Ibernis, alijsq; omnibus facem praeferat, Reformatorumq; (à quibus salutare palinodia defecit) causam gregemq; sua fuga condemnet: Cateris obiter à me* ⁴ *superius recensitis accedat, optimoq; iure praeceat illustrissimus inter Theologos Doctores Cantabrigienses, Beniaminus Carerius, Concionator, ac sacellanus regius, Qui talis Abdenago seu Regis seruus esse voluit, ut simul esset Abdenago seruus Dei,*

*Dei, Verus Beniaminus, utpote mane prava educatione
Lupus rapax Christi pradam comedens, vespere verò
hæresis eiurata spolia detrahens diuidensq̃, & saluta-
ri palinodia dextra filium se constituens; Verus Barsabas
verâ ad fidem conuersione eiusq̃ causa demittens multa,
quia dilexit multum; Verum animal quartum simile aquila
volanti, sigillo quarto aperto singulis reformatorum cla-
misans, Veni & vide, felix omnino conuersionis*

Tarda & sera nimis, sed fama & laude perenni.

So that it seemed needfull some answer should bee made to his treatise, if for none other reason, yet in regard of so great an opinion conceiued of his worth and sufficiencie: But sure I am of opinion, that had hee beene a man of that moderation in matter of Religion, (as through this Treatise hee would beare his *Maiesie* and the world in hand) hee had neither died among the *Iesuits*, as *Pelissier* testifies in the conclusion of his pamphlet, nor receiued such a testimonie from *Fitz-Simon* by nation an *Irishman*, & a *Iesuit* by profession: Howsoeuer, sure I am that talking of *Vnitie and Peace* (the pretended scope of M^r. D^rs letter) as termes now stand betweene vs, fauours not of a *Iesuits* spirit. We for our parts freely professe, as M^r. *Casaubon* doth in his *Maiesties* name. [*Let them in whose power it is to performe it, offer vs such a peace, of which it may bee sayd, Peace & truesh haue kissed each other, and the controuersie is at an end: Let them seuer humane ordinances from diuine, superstitions from godly, new from ancient, needlesse from necessary, I say againe (saith he) and wish as loude a*

crie and much earnestnesse as may be, I proclaime it, that all

men may heare me, for as much as concernes his Maieſty, and the Church of England, the controuerſie is at an end. His Maieſties intent and full reſolution is, that they in vaine talke or thinke of Peace, who ſunder that heauenly yoke of vnitie and verity; but (ſaith hee in concluſion, ſpeaking to the Romaniſts;) their purpoſe is conſtantly to maintaine all they hold, not to reconcile the minds of well diſpoſed perſons, by the reformation of that which is amiſſe; in which purpoſe as long as they ſhall perſiſt, his Maieſtie profeſſeth once for all, that he will entertaine no ſocietie, no Communion at all with the Church of Rome: And in this caſe we ſticke not to profeſſe with Nazianzene, that there is a kind of holy warre, in which who ſo dies, ſhal vndoubtedly obtaine of the chiefe Biſhop of our ſoules, a Plenary Indulgence for his ſinnes, and with Hillary, Amiable is the name of peace, and louely the opinion of vnitie, but who doubts that to bee the onely Peace of the Church, which is the Peace of Chriſt? and laſtly with Cyprian, [He is not reconciled to the Church, who is ſeparated from the Goſpel.] Now becauſe M. Doctour would perſwade the world, and his Maieſtie himſelfe, that at his firſt entrance into this kingdome, hee was more inclineable to reconcilement, and labourereth by promiſing honour and riches and ſecurity to reduce him againe to the ſame pretended inclination, it ſhall not be amiſſe (beſide that which I haue ſpoken to this point in diuerſe parts of mine anſwere) to acquaint the Reader with his Maieſties proteſtation (euen while matters were yet in a hammering) made to Watſon, as himſelfe confeſſed to the late Earle of Northampton, *That all the Crownes and kingdomes in this world ſhould not induce him to change any iot of his profeſſion which was*
the

ſ See the late
 B. of Lincolnes
 anſwere to a
 nameleſſe Ca-
 tholike, p. 115.

the pasture of his soule, & earnest of his eternal inheritance; and as he thus protested at his first entrance, so in the conclusion of one of his last speeches to the Parliament, he sheweth himselfe in this point euer like himselfe. [⁶ I am now out of conscience and for security (saith he) not to forget religion; I spake to you last as a Prophet, that it was likely the Papists had some new plot in hand, now you see it is come to passe, and I will let you know this much, their ayme was not at him alone, but at other Princes to, whereof I assure you I was one; looke that these weedes doe not ouergrow the corne, that Papistry be not increased by one thing too much used among them: They send out their kinsmen, children and seruants to Doway, and such like places, these after they haue bene there nourished, come daily ouer, and with their poison infect others: This one day will make you smart, if it be not preuented.] And I pray God his Maiestie doe not proue as true a Prophet in this latter, as the successe shewed him in the former; howsoever, it sufficeth to shew his Maiesties auersenes from all maner of reconcilment, things standing in the termes they doe: Nay, M. Doctour himselfe in his Epistle to *Casaubon*, written since his going ouer, professeth, that ⁸ except it were expected from his Maiestie, that he should (in a maner) proclaime to the world, that he was forced to that religion, he saw not how (in so great danger, and iust anger) he could possibly draw neerer to them, who well deserved the anger, by procuring the danger. M. Doctour then might well haue spared his paines of writing to his Maiestie to that purpose, considering withall he had by his owne acknowledgement receiued full answer from M. *Casaubon*, that his Maiesties settled determination was (as he had before signified

6 May 21, 1610

7 His Maiesty there speaks of the French King Henry the IV.

8 Nisi itaque id ex p[re]dictis a serenissimo Rege, ut palam coram uniuerso mundo proficitur se minus ad fidem cogi, non video, quo modo animus Regius in terra ista irat, & tanto periculo suo & suorum, p[er]is ad eorum partes propius accedere.

nified to *Cardinall Perron*) not at all to shake hands with Rome, whiles her whordomes and witchcrafts yet remaine in such abundance.

My wish and hearty prayer to God is, and I think not mine alone, but of all good men, neither would I account my life deare to be spent in the furtherance of it, that the miserable rent, and wide woundes, which at this day wee see in the Christian world, in matter of Religion, might by some good meanes be closed vp, for the sparing of the effusion of so much Christian blood, the securing of the Crownes of Christian Princes, the settling of so great distraction in Christian mindes, the wiping away of the scandall of diuision, from the Christian profession, and lastly resisting with vnited forces, the common enemy of the blessed and glorious name of Iesus Christ: But as long as the⁹ Bishop of Rome shal hang the faith of his followers on this Principle [*I and my Church cannot possibly erre*] and with the same stoppe the mouths of all his opposites, bee the force and euidence of their arguments neuer so cleare and stronge; I cannot conceiue other wise of such a wish then of an honest desire, but without any apparent hope of successe. For if diuine authoritie doe concurre with them in all their ordinances, if Gods Spirit infallibly assist them in all their decisions, what remaines there, but only that they teach, wee belecue, they command, and the world obey? Indeed in humane gouernments where reason is shut out, there tyrannie is thrust in; but where God commandeth, to aske a reason, is presumption, to disobey, rebellion: to this miserable necessitie haue their assertions tied them which they haue

⁹ See the relation of the state of religion in these Westerne parts which it were much to be wished, the Author himselfe would perfect and publish.

haue laid for their eternall foundation; miserable to themselves, and miserable to the whole world; nay, in so many conferences as haue beene held in this age for pacification, it hath beene truly obserued, that ere they parted, they plainly discovered, they came not with any such intent, as to yeeld any thing for *Peace*, much lesse for *Trueths* sake, but onely to assay either by perswasion to reduce, or otherwise by cunning to intrap and disgrace their aduersaries; and if some one of them haue shewed himselfe more moderate at any time, it hath beene his vtter disgrace with his owne partie for euer after. Now for the manner of mine answering, I haue set downe his text at large in his owne words, without altering or adding so much as a syllable (except it were to make sense where I found none) imputing the etroure thereof to the Printer, rather then the Author, I haue followed the Methode of his owne diuision, for the most part, both in the *Chapters & Sects*. The maine scope of euery *Sect*. I haue answered in the bodie of my Reply, stretching the force of his Arguments, sometimes beyond the extent of the Letter; & such extrauagant matters, as he drawes in vpon the bye, I thought it sufficient to reply vnto, in my marginall notes, so that in one of the two, nothing I thinke worth the answering hath escaped vnanswered; and I shall craue that curtesie of the Reader, if he receiue not satisfaction in the one, to haue recourse to the other; and this I take to bee faire and iust dealing without exception; once I am sure I haue dealt with him as my selfe in like case should desire to be dealt withall, which I take to bee the safest rule of iust dealing. Surely a matter it is of

little

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Mans

10 *Britannem.*
minif. pag. 324.

little labour and credites; but lesse honestie, to deale as *Fitz-Simon* hath done with *M^r. Mason*, whose learned and painfull booke of *the lawfull* ¹⁰ *Consecration of our Bishops*; he pretends he read ouer and confuted in 15. dayes; but his chiefe confutation (as may easily appere to the Reader) stands in denying acts vouched out of the publike Register; or as *Eudamon* (the common packhorse of *Rome*) hath lately dealt with my Lord of *Salisbury*; answering his *Antilogie*, a booke of about 60. sheetes, full of varietie of learning, and euident prooffe, with a Libel of some three or foure sheets at most, which he hath also rather stained, with rayling at persons, and catching at words, then made offer to answer so much as one materiall point; and to speake a truth, I haue good reason to thinke, he rather wrote it that the title might be seene in the common Catalogue, then that the Booke it selfe might commonly bee read; in regarde that the worke is so slender, and the copies so few; that as it is scarce to be had, so is it scarce worth the reading being had: himselfe professeth that he wrote it [*Ne magni aliquid latere in eo libro putarent, quæ nemo confutasset*: Lest men should thinke some great matter lay hidden in that booke, which no man had confuted: but hee that shall compare both, may well say, notwithstanding his answer, that no man hath yet confuted it.

Somewhat more wisely and warily hath he dealt with *Casaubons Exercitations*, answering onely the fourth chapter of his first *Exercitation*, and promising a whole volume to follow after against the rest, in imitation belike of *Richard Stanishurst*, who hath published his flourish to a future combat with his

Nephew

Nephew *M. D. Naber*; but I thinke wee shall see the full encounters both of the one and the other, by leasure.

*Pollicitis diues quilibet esse potest; but
Tarda solet magnis rebus inesse fides.*

An easie matter it is to promise great matters, but not so easie to performe them being promised: For mine owne part, I must confesse, I haue made a larger answer then either the treatise answered deserued, or the state of my bodie, and my leisure (being to make so often returns from a remote part of the Kingdom to mine attendance in Court) could well permit, or indeed my selfe at first proiected; but I haue now found it true in mine owne experience, which I haue often heard obserued by others, to fall out many times in writing, as it doth in building: many alterations and additions present themselves, besides, and beyond the first designe. It was written of *Fame*, but it may as truly be said of this kind of writing,

Vires acquirit eundo.

It gathers strength in going, as in eating a man sometimes gets a stomack: which was the reason (together with an expectation, that either some more able pen would haue vndertaken this encounter, or some matter of greater importance promised by the Author himselfe, and *Pelivier*, would ere this haue beene published to the world) that mine answer hath beene differred till now: but if it be well enough, it is soone enough, how well it is, let the reader iudge, whom

notwithstanding, I shall desire to suspend his iudgement; till hee haue heard both parties speake, which request mee thinkes is but reasonable, considering I haue dealt so fauourably with the aduerse party, as to set downe all at full, that hee could say for himselfe: With whom, if I deale in mine answering as if hee were still aliue, it is to bee ascribed to himselfe, who in the conclusion of his Letter, professeth *hee sent his soule therein*; neither is that I haue done herein without example of those, by whose greatnesse if need were, small faults might be countenanced; it is (I hope) sufficient that I neither intend thereby to wrong the dead, or deceiue the liuing:

Neither let it bee thought blameable, that being by profession a diuine, I haue medled so much in matters of state; it was rather out of the necessitie of the arguments to bee replied vnto, then any desire or disposition of mine owne; farther then to make it appeare to the world, that the Religion by vs professed, is more sutable to the preservation of the ciuill power, and in speciall the forme of policie established among vs, then that religion which dares accuse ours of the contrary; of which I may truely say that (in the termes it now stands) it doth not so much vphold temporall policie, as it is vpheld by it, and yet like the iuie which riseth by clasping the oake, hath it at length ouertopt the oake of *Soueraignetie* it selfe: whereas on the other side ours hath hitherto had none other supports, but the meere euidence of truth and diuine assistance, and so according to that received principle of nature, being still nourished by
the

the same meanes as it was first bredde, it makes vs
confident that it will both grow the better and last
the longer. Thus commending thee to Gods grace,
the worke to thy charitable censure, and my selfe to
thy Christian prayers, I rest.

Thine in our Common

SAVIOVR,



George Hakewil.

c 3

¶ The



**The Publishers Preface to the
Reader before D^r. CARIERS
Booke.**



Having exactly perused (good Reader) this Treatise here presented to thy view, and finding it both in stuffe and stile to be learnedly and eloquently contrived; I tooke my selfe in some sort obliged in Christian duty, to divulge it in print to the world: ¹ vnwittingly I

¹ I can shew it in the Authors owne Letters, that he had a purpose of publishing it.

² He hath now gotten more name and fame by running away from vs, then by any act that euer hee did among vs.

³ The Credite he had in Court, was won by his hypocrisie.

⁴ He was like enough to aspire to higher preferment: but while he remained like himselfe, not like to attaine it.

confesse to the Author: howbeit, encroaching vpon his charitable consent, who I am well assured is most forward to defray his talent in ought wherein the Catholike Romane religion may be aduanced: Of this firme and full resolution he hath made effectiue prooffe, not onely in words but also in workes. The Author, as it is notoriously knowne, hath gained² name and fame among the Protestants, hauing bene a Teacher in their Colledges, a Preacher in their Pulpits, a Doct^r in their Schooles, a Canon in their Churches, Chaplaine to the King his most excellent Maiestie, flowing in wealth, supported with the³ credit of the Court, most likely in short time to⁴ aspire to higher Ecclesiasticall preferments, had hee persisted in the course of his former profes-

profession: Yet notwithstanding all these worldly allurements, which are in good sooth⁵ wondrous inticing baits to hooke and to hold an vnstayed soule; M^r. Doct^r Carier hauing from his greener yeeres wallowed himselfe in the choisest writings of the most learned Protestants, and confronting in his mature age their⁶ wauering opinions with the vniforme and settled consent of the ancient Fathers, found the⁷ new so opposite to the old, that at length receiuing⁸ gracious light from the Father of lights, did teare⁹ at a trice all these forementioned earthly snarcs, resolving not to wander any longer like a lost sheepe, but to come to the fold of the Catholike Roman Church; and consequently, choosing like a zealous Moses, to be afflicted with the people of God, then to haue the pleasure of temporall sinne: These and the like pregnant points are sufficiently debated in this Treatise, which I wish thee (gentle Reader) to peruse with heedfull attention; wherby the Author his paines may turne to thy profite, if happily thou be alienated from the¹⁰ Catholike Roman religion, alwaies presenting thy prayers to our Lord Sweet Iesus, that he would vouchsafe to illuminate thy minde in the passage of thy eternall saluation, that thou mayest preferre light before darkenesse, truth before fallshood, Catholike Religion before particular opinions,¹¹ as M^r. Doct^r Carier hath done vpon such sound and grounded reasons, as hee hath opened in this Treatise: And thus wishing that good to thy soule, which I wish to mine owne, I betake thee good Reader to the direction and protection of the authour, and giuer of grace and glory.

⁵ What inticing baits could these be vnto him, who by his own acknowledgement, felt the state of his body such, that hee could not long enioy them.

⁶ The wauering was in his braine not in their opinions.

⁷ Hee protesteth indeed that hee found a large opposition, betweene the new French, (as he calleth it,) and the old English: but betweene the English and the Romish, none at all, or so small as it might easily be reconciled.

Chap. 2. Sect. 29.

⁸ Or rather a counterfeite light from him, who is transformed into an Angel of Light.

⁹ His owne relation shewes, how slowly he proceeded in this businesse, as being in hope of higher preferment, and yet in despaire of longer life.

¹⁰ Catholike Roman, I take to be as much as Kent and Christendome.

¹¹ Had Mr. Dr. done so, he had rested where he was.

G. H.



IT seemes you had not so exactly perused this ensuing Treatise, as in the front you pretend, in as much as you tell vs, that the Author thereof from his greener yeeres wallowed himselfe in the choicest writings of the most learned Protestants; whereas himselfe in his first chapter and fifth Section, professeth, that *when he first tooke himselfe to the studie of Diuinitie, setting aside all respect of men then alieue, and of Writers that had mooued or maintained Controuersies, farther then to vnderstand the question that was betwixt them, he fell to the reading of the Church Historie and ancient Fathers, which had no interest on either side*: Indeed he telleth vs before this, he read ouer our *English Chronicles*, and except this were his wallowing in the choicest writings of the most learned Protestants, I vnderstand not out of his owne relation what was: Once I am sure he affirmes meere vntruths touching *Caluins doctrine* (which I take it hee vnderstands by *Caluinisme*) faining him to teach, that the *Sacraments of the Church bee nothing but signes and badges of that grace, which a man hath before, by the carnall covenant of his Parents faith, and that Priesthood can doe nothing but preach the word, which lay men may do also if they wil*: positions so directly opposite not only to *Caluins words*, but his grounds and reasons, that it makes me suspect he neuer reade him nor so much as his *Maiesties* either Apologie or Premonition; in both which he plainly and largely impugneth the Bishop of *Romes* vsurped power in spirituals, which the Dr. notwithstanding deni-

denieth, and that in his letter to his *Majestie* himselſe. Cap. 2. Sec. 36.

But you found the treatiſe, you ſay, both in ſtuffe and ſtyle, ſo be learnedly and eloquently contriued: It may be ſaid of eloquẽce without learning, as of the Nightingale, that it is *vox & præterea nihil*, A ſounding braſſe or tinkling Cymball: Neither doe I ſee how that can well be called a learned peece of worke, which treating of Chriſtian religion, alleadgeth not ſo much as one paſſage of Scripture throughout, nor alludeth to any by way of prooffe; and quoteth of the Ancients onely, S. *Auguſtine* twice, but not againſt vs, and S. *Ambroſe* once, but againſt his meaning, as ſhall appeare in his proper place: and among latter Writers Sir *Franciſ Bacon*s Eſſayes, where no ſuch thing as hee quotes is to be found, and *Caluins* life written by *Beza*, which rather makes much againſt himſelſe, then in any ſort for him; beſides this, hee borroweth a ſentence or two out of *Ariſtotles* Politikes, which he farthereth vpon the Fathers, and this is the learned ſtuffe you ſo much bragge of.

From the worke you paſſe to the Author, who gained fame (you ſay) amongſt the Proteſtants, hauing beene a Teacher in their Colledges, a Preacher in their Pulpits, a Doctõr in their Schooles, &c. So was *Nicholas* amongſt the Deacons, and *Iudas* among the Apoſtles, and *Reuben* among the Patriarchs, and *Saul* among the Prophets, and *Iulian* among the Chriſtian Emperors, and *Nestorius* among the Biſhops, and *Sergius* among the Monkes, and *Lucifer* among the Angels, and *Satan* among the children of God; Hee went out from vs becauſe he was not of vs, for if he had beene of vs, he would haue continued with vs.

Stella cadens non est stella, cometa fuit.

His falling away proues him to haue beene a blazing but neuer a fixed starre: Which that I haue good reason to thinke, his owne words written with his owne hand, and taken out of his common place booke, shall testifie, where he proposes the question.

I AN. 5. 1611.

An quis possit esse in statu gratia, qui est extra externam obedientiam Ecclesia.
An quis possit esse in statu gratia, qui est extra communionem ecclesia. potest.

Which hee thus resolues: *Catholicus extra externam obedientiam Ecclesia, vel in Scismate natus, vel per loci interdictum eiectus, potest tamen esse in unione Catholica. Ergo potest esse in statu gratia. Potest habere animam perfecte unitam. Ergo potest esse in unione Catholica.*

Potest habere intellectum unitum, scilicet per veram fidem, & voluntatem unitam, scilicet per veram charitatem. Ergo potest habere animam perfecte unitam. Ergo si non potest habere corpus unitum, est tamen in statu gratia, modo nihil prius cupiat, quam ut sit etiam in externa obedientia, & absteat propter commune bonum Ecclesia, non propter bonum priuatum.

From whence in my iudgement it cannot well be collected otherwise, but that while his body was with vs, his soule was vnited to Rome, and that euen before his leauing vs, he left no stone vnmoued for the publique good of that Church.

Lastly,

Lastly, for that *uniforme and settled consent of the ancient Fathers*, and those *pregnant points and sound and grounded reasons* of the Author which the Prefacer pretends; it will easily appeare at first view, that the former appeares not in this Treatise: and for the latter, they may appeare to the vnlearned and vnstable, who like children are *carried about with euery blast of vaine doctrine*; but to such as are sound *in the faith which was once deliuered to the Saints*, and grounded in the principles of Christian religion, I am sure his reasons can neither appeare *sound nor grounded*.

Those foure quotations of Scripture which are set by the Prefacer in his margin (being more by foure then are to be found in the Treatise it selfe) the thickenesse of my marginall notes inforced me to omit; and yet if I had figured them as I finde them there, the Reader in searching would haue missed them, the 11. and 19. of *Iames* being put for the 1. and the 17. the 15. to the *Heb.* for the 11. and *Psalms*. 83. 12. for 84. 11. But herein it may be hee followed the diuision of the vulgar edition, and the rest I am content to impute to the Printer.

Hanc veniam petimusq, damusq, vicissim.

DR. CARIERS PREFACE

TO HIS LETTER.

Most Excellent and Renowned Soueraigne,

1 You might haue named Scripture as well as art, but it seemes you purposely forbore it, lest you shou'd seeme a Caluinist.

2 In your 2. chap. & 21. Sect. you affirme the doctrine of the Church of Engl. to be that which is contained in the comon prayer booke, and Church Catechisme, very nere agreeing with, or at least not contradicting the Church of Rome.

3 Had you brought any proofes from the Scriptures & ancient Fathers for the trueth of that Religion, which you call Cathol. you would haue thereby giuen vs some reason to thinke you had indeed studied them.

4 Your reconciliation of religion was nothing else but a renouncing of the truth.

I *T is not unknowne to all those that knowe me in England, that for these many yeeres I had my health very ill, and therefore hauing from time to time used all the meanes and medicines that England could afford; Last of all, by the aduice of my Phisitians, I made mine humble suite vnto your Maiestie, that I might trauell vnto the Spaw for the use of those waters, purposing with my selfe that if I could be well, I would goe from thence to Heydelberge, and spend this winter there. But when I was gone from the Spaw to Aquisgrane, and so to Colin, I found my selfe, rather worse then better then I was before, and therefore I resolved with my selfe that it was high time for me to settle my thoughts vpon another world: And seeing I was out of hope to enioy the health of my body, at the least to looke to the health of my soule, from whence both ¹ art and experience teacheth me that all my bodily infirmities haue their beginning, for if I could by any study haue prooued Catholike Religion to bee false, or by any meanes haue professed it to bee ² true in England, I doubt not, but the contentment of my soule would haue much helped the health of my bodie: But the more I studied the ³ Scriptures, and most ancient Fathers to confute it, the more I was compelled to see the trueth thereof, and the more I laboured to ⁴ reconcile the religion of England thereunto, the more I was disliked, suspected, and condemned as a common enemy: And*

if

if I would haue been either ignorant, or silent, I might perhaps with the pleasures and commodities of my preferments, haue in time cast off the care of Religion: But seeing my studie forced mee to ⁵ knowe, and my place ⁶ compelled me to preach, I had no way to auoid my grieſe, nor meanes to endure it: I haue therefore apprehended the opportunitie of my Licence to trauell, that I may withdraw my ſelfe for a while from the ſight and offence of thoſe in England, which ⁷ hate Catholike Religion, and ⁸ freely and fully enjoy the preſence of our bleſſed Sauour, in the vnitie of his Catholike Church, wherein I will neuer forget, at the ⁹ dayly oblation of his moſt bleſſed bodie and blood, to liſt vp my heart vnto him and to pray for the ¹⁰ admiſſion of your Maieſty thereinto: And in the meane time I haue thought it my ¹¹ duty to write this ſhort treatiſe wiſh mine owne hand, wherein before I ¹² publiſh my ſelfe vnto the world, I deſire to ſhew to your Maieſty theſe two things:

- 1 ¹³ The meanes of my conuerſion vnto Cath. Religion:
- 2 The hopes I haue to doe your Maieſty no ill ſeruiſe therein.

I humbly craue your Maieſties ¹⁴ pardon, and will reſt euer

Your Maieſties ¹⁵ faithfull and truly deuoted ſeruant,

B. Carrier.

it, will bee admitted. ¹¹ Your dutie would better haue appeared in writing ſomewhat in defence of his Maieſties writings. ¹² Your aſſured preſence at the dayly oblation (as you call it) was a ſufficient declaration of your reuolt. ¹³ How ſufficiently either of theſe two bee ſhewed, I leaue it to the indiſferent Reader to iudge. ¹⁴ I wonder that any hauing aſſiſtance in his *Holineſſe* pardons, ſhould deſire his Maieſties. ¹⁵ Hee is indeed likely to bee a faithfull ſeruant to his Maieſty, who flies to the tents, and pleads the cauſe of his ſworne enemies.

⁵ It is maruell you had not imparted y knowledge by writing

⁶ Your place compelled you not to preach points of Romiſh doctrine.

⁷ Catholike Religion is not hated in England, but the religion of pretended Catholikes is juſtly reſtrained.

⁸ You might as fully and directly haue enjoyed y preſence of our bleſſed Sauour in the vnitie of y English Church, as the Romiſh.

⁹ How can there be a dayly oblation of that which himſelfe offered once for all. Heb. 7. 27. & 9. 28. and 10. 10

¹⁰ When his Maieſties reaſons are answered why he ſhould not bee already eſteemed in the vnitie of the Catholike Church, prayer for his admiſſion into

IT is likewise knowen to all them that knew you, that for these many yeres, you haue beene more sicke in minde, then in body, which hath appeared not onely publicly in your Sermons and writings; but priuately in your Conferences and Letters: whereof my selfe am in part a witnesse; but they with whom you were longer and more familiarly conuersant, can more fully testifie it, and though you vsed many medicines, yet one was wanting, to wit, a *meeke and quiet spirit, a thing before God much set by*; it being as *Dauids* musicke, which stilled *Sauls* rage; and this I am perswaded would haue done you more good, aswell in regard of the diseases of your body as your minde, then any of your other medicines, or all of them put together: among which your last was the *Span* waters, which I graunt, you might vse by aduice of Physitians; but I haue withall reason to thinke the voyage out of his *Maiesties* dominions into those parts, was by you intended rather for the fuller & safer discouering of the sickenes of your mind, then the recouering of that of your body: which your selfe in this very Preface confesse vpon the matter, in as much as being (you say) *suspected & condemned as a common enemy, and hauing no way to auoid your grieve, nor meanes to endure it, you desired to withdraw your selfe from the sight and offence of those who hated Catholike Religion*: whereby I presume you meane such as opposed your turbulent courses, labouring vnder pretence of Catholike Religion, and olde *English* diuinitie, to bring
in,

in, and set vp, the new *Romish*; and considering you stood so affected, it seemeth to me strange you should purpose a iourney to *Heydelberge*, and the spending of a winter there, being so professed an enemy to all *Caluinists*, except you hoped to conuert *Abraham Scultet*, or *David Parrey*: My selfe passed one whole winter amongst them, and vnlesse their opinions be since altered, or you had altered yours before your coming thither, or at least concealed them at your being there, you would doubtlesse before the winter had passed, growen more weary of them then of vs: But being (you say) vpon the way at *Colin*, you found your selfe worse, and thereupon *resolved it was high time to settle your thoughts vpon another world, and being out of hope to enioy the health of your bodie, at least to looke to the health of your soule*; So that by your owne confession, you made a vertue of necessitie, then resolving to settle your selfe, when you expected not long after the dissolution of your body; then to fixe your thoughts vpon God, when you perceiued you could not long remaine in the world; which as it is lesse acceptable to God, then for a man to consecrate the flowre and strength of his age to him, so is it in the doctrine of the Church of *Rome* lesse meritorious in it selfe, and in reason not so exemplar to draw others: Had you determined to forsake a falshod, and imbrace a trueth for the meere loue of truth without worldly respects, men would rather haue inclined to thinke that true which you had imbraced; had you hoped to rise higher, and liue longer, and yet not held your life or hope of honor deare; in regard of that future life and glory which you hoped for by the change of your Religion,

Religion, you might sooner haue induced others to follow your steps: but for a man so ambitious as your selfe, by your owne acknowledgement, who by struing against the streame, had put himselfe not onely out of hope of rising higher; but almost out of breath to, and all hope of liuing much longer, to seeke that name and fame in dying abroad, which he saw could not bee gotten by liuing at home; it may perhaps worke somewhat with those who iudge of matters onely by euent, as *Geometricians* measure the height of towres by their shadowes, and are ready to turne euery accident to an argument for their owne purposes; but such as iudge of euent by looking into their causes (which not many loue much to busie their braines about, nor are indeed capable of) and frame not arguments to their opinions; but contrariwise submit their opinions to the soundnesse and force of argument; such I say, I am sure it cannot much moue.



AN



AN ANSWERE TO D. CARIERS LETTER TO THE *Kings Maiestie.*

CHAP. I.

The meanes of my conuerſion to Catholike Religion.

BENIAMIN CARIER.



I Must confeſſe to Gods honour, and my owne ſhame, ^A that if it had bene in my power to chooſe, I would neuer haue bene a Catholike. I was borne and brought up in ^I ſchiſme, and was taught to ^B abhorre a Papiſt, as much as any Puritane in England doth. I had euer a great deſire to iuſtifie the religion of the ſtate, and had great ^C hope to aduance my ſelfe thereby: neither was my hope euer ſo great, as by your Maieſties fauour it was ^D at the very inſtant of my reſolution for Catholike Religion: and the preferment

gaue the like commandement to others, if any teach otherwiſe, and conſenteth not to the wholeſome words of the Lord Ieſus, and from ſuch ſeparate thy ſelfe, 1. Tim. 6, 3, 4, 5.

¹ It was ſuch a ſchiſme as the Apoſtle practiſed, when certaine were hardened & diſobeyed, ſpeaking euill of the way of God, he departed from them, and ſeparated the diſciples, Acts 19. 9. and

I had,

2 This ambition of yours was it which being somewhat crossed, or not fully satisfied, caused your apostasie, as it did Arrius his heresie.

3 Yet himselfe afterward iustifies it, chap. 2. sect. 21.

4 Doe men gather grapes of thornes, or figs of thistles? and can either duety or loue be expected from such subiects and friends? better is the hatred of an open enemy, then the loue of such a friend.

5 *Ab uno vique ad malum.*

I had together with the honour of your Maiesties service, was greater by much, then without your Maiesties fauour, I looke for in this world. But although I was as² ambitious of your Maiesties fauour, and as desirous of the honours and pleasures of my Countrey, as any man that is therein: yet seeing that I was not like, any long while, to enioy them, and if I should for my private commodity speake, or write, or doe any thing against the honour of Christ his Church, and against the euidence of mine owne conscience, I must shortly appeare before the presence of the same Christ, in the presence of the same his Church, to giue an account thereof. Therefore I neither durst any further to pursue my owne desire of honour, nor to hazard my soule any farther in the iustification of that religion, which I saw was^E impossible to bee³ iustified by any such reason as at the day of iudgement would goe for payment; and that it may appeare that I haue not respected any thing so much in this world, as my⁴ duetie to your Maieity, and my loue to my friends & Countrey, I humbly beseech you giue me leaue (as briefly as I can) to recount vnto you the whole course of my studies and induors in this kind, euen⁵ from the beginning of my life vntill this present.

GEORGE HAKEWIL.

He repeats the same phrase in diuers other places.

A In saying you would *neuer haue bene a Catholike, if it had bene in your power to choose*, you seeme to fall vpon that opinion which is wrongfully thrust vpon Calvin, that wee are converted, as it were, by constraint, whether we will or no, and consequently you ouerthrow both the freedome of will, and the merit of worke.

B It seemes then your father, who brought you vp, did much *abhorre a Papist*, and yet you confesse in the next Section that he was a *learned and deuout man, and that he seasoned you with the principles of piety and deuotion*.

C Your great hopes were indeed alwayes beyond your iust deserts: yet his Maiestie might be drawn to fauour you the rather, for that hypocriticall sermon which you made last before him in his Chappell at White-hall.

D So it seemes you resolved for the pretended Catholike religion before your parting from hence: howbeit before, you beare vs in hand, that you got licence to trauell to the Spaw, onely for your health, and afterward you tell vs, that you went hence, hoping to finde some greater offence in the seruice of the Church of Rome, then you had done in their bookes, that so you might returne better contented, to persecute and abhorre the Catholikes at your pleasure: Thus, for your aduantage, you turne your tale, as Mariners doe their sailes.

E No reason at the day of Iudgement, in all likelihoode, shall better goe for payment, then that which the Iudge, as a rule to be iudged by, himselfe hath left vs, and of which we may say, if we be deceiued, thou Peter, thou Paul, or thou Christ hast deceiued vs. But whether on the other side, your humane inuentions, or as the Apostle calls them, *voluntary religion *Coloss. 3. 23. and will-worship, will then passe for currant pay, a iustler doubt may be made: of which hee might iustly say, as he doth to his people by his *Prophet, Who hath required these things at your *Esai. 1. 12. hands?

B. C.

2.

I was borne in the yeere, 1566. being the sonne of Anthonic Carier, a learned and deuout man: who although hee were a Protestant and a Preacher, yet did so season me with the principles of pietie and deuotion, as I could not chooseth but euer since bee verie zealous in matters of religion. Of him I learned that all false religions in the world were but policies inuented for the temporall seruice of Princes and States: and therefore that they were diuers and alwayes changeable, according to the diuers reasons and occasions of State. But true Christian Religion was a truth reuealed of God for the eternall saluation of soules: and therefore was like to God alwayes, one and the same. So that all Princes and States in the world neuer haue beene, nor shall be able to 7 overerthrow that Religion. This to me seemed an excellent ground for the finding out of

6 Great zeale and neutralitie in Religion seldom stand together, as neither doe great zeale and vehement ambition.

7 We grant as much, that the gates of hell shall neuer utterly preuaile against it.

that Religion, wherein a man might find rest unto his soule, which cannot be satisfied with anything but eternall trueth.

G. H.

Non bene con-
sistunt pie in u-
na sede morantur
ambitus & zelus.

* Iames 3. 16.

* Rom. 10. 3.

F A zealous man indeed, your selfe confessing in your Preface that you then began to looke to the health of your soule, when you were out of hope to enjoy the health of your bodie: And in the very Section going before, that you were as ambitious of his Maesties fauour, and as desirous of the honours and pleasures of your Countrey, as any man that is therein: But it seemes you dwelt by bad neighbours, who are thus inforced to commend your owne Zeale, or else they hold it of none other kind, then that of which the * Apostle speakes [*hauing strife for her companion and sedition for her daughter,*] and if wee should graunt that you had Zeale though [** not according to knowledge,*] I rest well assured that this Epistle, in the iudgement of the wisest, would not euince the contrary.

* Luke 16. 8.

* 2. Thes. 2. 7.

G Your father being (as you say) a Protestant and a Preacher in all likelyhood; by False Religion, vnderstood the Romish, being indeede the deepest policie inuented by men for their own purposes that euer was in the world, [** the children of darkenesse being in their generation wiser then the children of light,*] and is in that regard rightly termed by Saint Paul [** the myserie of iniquitie which began to worke*] in his dayes, but since hath fullie weaued those threds, which were then begunne to be spunne; the Cockatrice is now hatched, which was then onely in the egge. And surely I thinke, not without great reason, the Bishop of Rome hath, or at least wise, formerly had the word *Myserie* engrauen on his diademe, since in the seuenteenth of the Reuel. at the fift verse it is foretold, it should be [*written on the forehead of the great Whore.*] For to passe by other [*depthes of Satan*] as they bee called Reuel. 2. verse 24. I would know what Religion was euer in the world which inuented a policie like to the Popes dispensations in generall, but specially in Mariages, it being hitherto the best stake in his

his hedge, and without exception the strongest sinew for the trying of Christian Princes vnto him, as to their head, they being made many of them by it legitimate, and illegitimate without it: So they stand in a maner bound to defend his authority with the same sword, that they do their own Crownes. And I am verily perswaded, were it not that they lie obnoxious to him in this regard, some of them would not sticke so close to him as they doe, especially since the publishing of his *Maiesties* learned and godly premonition vnto them. Farther, what vse they make of Confessions for the discouerie of all secrets, as well of nature as of States, Indulgences, Canonizations, Consecrations, Of their bloodie Inquisition, which like a sharpe Northerne wind nippes the spring of Religion in the bud, Of forging false Authours, and corrupting the true, Of suppressing the bookes of our Writers, and correcting their owne, Of spreading false rumors, and razing all antiquitie that makes against them, the world hath long since discovered. Besides all this, they haue a baite for euery fish, a motiue to draw euery seuerall humour: for an ambitious disposition they haue a triple Crowne, or a Cardinals cap; for a Contemplatiue, a Monkes cloister, or a Friars coule; for a working practical head, imployment in State affaires, for a Scholasticke, preaching & writing, and in writing, some they set to meditations, some to politike discourses, some to cases of conscience, some to commentaries, some to controuersies, according to the seuerall point and temper of their wits. Nay he that shal but consider the politike forme of gouernment obserued in the onely order of the Iesuits, their rules, their intelligence, their correspondence, their infinite cunning deuises how to winne some whom they desire for respects to be of their society, or to make their friends, and to disgrace or remoue others whom they suspect to stand in their way, may iustly pronounce of them that they haue perfectly learned the former part of our Sauours lesson, [** Be wise as serpents,*] but not the latter, [*be ye innocent as* * Math. 10. 16. *doves:*] whereas nothing argues the innocency of our cause more, then that it hitherto hath bin, and still is supported meere by the goodnesse of God, and the euidence of truth.

H Surely, if true religion be unchangeable, then the *Remiss* cannot be the true, it having suffered so many changes both in doctrine and practise, that wee may now iustly question it whether it bee the same or no, as the Schollers of *Athens* did *Thesens* his ship, after many reparations, wee may seeke *Rome* in *Rome* it selfe, and not find it. I will instance onely in the Masse, which like a beggars cloake hath receiued so many additions and patches, that if *S. Peter* should now liue to see a Priest saying Masse, hee would without doubt conceiue it to bee any thing rather then the commemoration of Christs death, or the administration of his Supper: and to speake a trueth, as long as the traditions of men are held of equall authoritie with the liuely Oracles and eternall trueth of God, it cannot bee, but that religion, which is grounded on them, should be as subiect to variation, as are the conceptions of mens minds. So that your ground for the finding out of that religion wherein a man might finde rest vnto his soule is excellent good, but your application erroneous, since there is indeede no rest, but vpon eternall trueth; and no trueth eternall, but that which is diuine.

B. C.

3.

1 He indeede deliuered it to his Apostles and disciples to continue, but sure wee are, it continued not by that succession, and in that Church which you call visible and perpetuall, or at least nor as he deliuered it: the enuious man came in the night and sowed cares amongst it.

My next care then was after I came to yeeres of discretion by all the best meanes I could to enforme my selfe, whether the religion of England were indeed the very same, which being prescribed and prophesied in the olde Testament, was perfected by our blessed Saviour, and¹ deliuered to his Apostles and disciples to continue by perpetuall succession in his visible Church, vntill his comming againe: or whether it were a new one for priuate purposes of Statesmen inuented, and by humane lawes established. Of this I could not chuse but make some doubt, because I heard men talke much in those dayes of the change of religion, which was then lately made in the beginning of *Queene ELIZABETHS* raigne.

G. H.

G. H.

I would demand, by M. Doctors leauē, whether men might not talke as much of the *change of religion* made in the beginning of *Queene Maries* raigne, as *Queene Elizabeths*? But you will say *Queene Maries* was a restitution to the ancient: and wee reple, that *Queene Elizabeths* was a restitution to a more ancient: and most true it is; the most ancient is the most true: So that in this regard wee may iustly say, [*Nos non sumus nouatores, sed vos estis veteratores,*] and without Sauour,

* From the beginning it was not so.

* Math. 19. 8.

B. C.

4.

I was sorry to heare of a *change* and of a *new religion*, seeing me thought in reason, if true religion were eternall, the new religion could not be the true. But yet I hoped that the religion of England was not a *change*, or a *new religion*, but a *restitution* of the olde; and that the *change* was in the Church of Rome; which in processe of time might perhaps grow to bee *Superstitious* and *Idolatrous*, and that therefore England had done well to leaue the Church of Rome, and to reforme it selfe: and for this purpose I did at my leisure and best opportunitie, as I came to more indgement, reade ouer the *Chronicles* of England; and obserued all the alterations of religion that I could find therein: but when I found there, that the present religion of England was a *plaine change*, and *change* upon *change*, and that there was no cause of the *change* at all at the first, but onely that ¹ King Henry the viii. was desirous to change his olde bedfellow, that hee might leaue some heires males behind him (for belike hee feared the females would not bee able to withstand the title of Scotland) and that the *change* was continued and increased by the posteritie of his latter wines, I could not chuse but suspect some thing: But yet the ² lone of the world, and hope of preferment would not suffer me to beleue but that all was well, and as it ought to be.

² Obserue here the great zeale of this man, which himselfe boasteth of in the 2. Section going before.

G. H.

G. H.

You told vs before, that your care was, as soon as you came to
 yeeres of discretion, by all meanes you could to enforme your selfe,
 whether the religion of England were indeede the very same which
 being prefigured and prophecied in the olde Testament, was per-
 fected by our blessed Saviour, and deliuered to his Apostles and
 disciples: and here you tell vs, that when you came to more iudge-
 ment, for the better informing your selfe herein, you read ouer the
 Chronicles of England: a proper course indeede, as if a man
 should reade ouer the Chronicles of England to search, whether
 the practise of our Architects in building agree with *Vitruuius*
 his precepts, or of our husbandmen in manuring their grounds
 with *Columellaes* rules. For mine owne part, I should rather
 haue thought, that the readiest way to informe your selfe a-
 right, had been to compare the religion of England with the
 doctrine of the Gospels, Epistles, Actes of the Apostles, and
 Church history, the end of a *Chronicle* being not to shew e-
 uery alteration in religion, specially where it is made peece-
 meale, insensibly, and by degrees, of which a man may say that
 hee sees it is changed, though he sawenot the changing, as he
 sees the grasse hath grown though he saw it not growing, and
 the shadow in a diall to haue mooued, though not moou-
 ing, [* *The enuious man sowed his tares in the night, so that*
men disconered it then when they sprang up in the morning.]
 but the sowing of them they could not obserue, because it was
 done cunningly in the night when all men slept, and for a
 time, they lay hid vnder the earth. And yet are not our *Chro-
 nicles* so silent, but that they euery where lay open the iust
 compaint of our Kings, and groning of our Clergie and peo-
 ple vnder the yoke of the Bishop of *Rome*, as shal more cleare-
 ly appeare, when we come to shew what benefit euery estate
 may expect from the restitution of *Romish* religion. But you
 say you found the religion of England a plaine change, and change
 vpon change: But our constant answer is, (that which you
 professe you hoped to finde) that the change was in the
 Church of *Rome*, our change being nothing else but the scow-
 ring

*Matth. 13. 25

ring off of that ruſt, or the repairing of thoſe ruines which we found had inſenſibly growen vpon it. For to ſuppoſe that tract of time cannot drawe a corruption vpon religion, as well as vpon ciuil affaires, is as if a man ſhould imagine that Caſtles indeede are ſubiect to reparations, but not Churches : and for your pretended *change vpon change*, wee may boldly ſay, that our Common prayer booke hath not receiued ſo many changes as your Breuiaries, your Porteſſes, your Legends, your Martyrologies, your Pontificals, your Ceremonials, and ſpecially your Miſſals haue done, and that ſince our reformation; nay, ſince the framing and publiſhing of our Common prayer bookes in the beginning of the reigne of *Edward the VI.* wee find no *change* in any materiall point at all, ſaue that in their Letanie they prayed to be deliuered by name from the tyrannie and malice of the *Pope*, which for any thing I know, might as iuſtly, and vpon as good reaſon haue been retained by vs, as it was by them put in,

H Now why *Henrie the VIII.* ſhould cauſe the firſt change in religion out of a deſire to change his bed-fellow, I ſee not, except you eſteeme a reſtraining of the *Popes* vnlimited power in diſpenſations to be a *change in religion*, and indeed it may well be, ſince now the world is come to that paſſe, that the *Popes* authority, and religion are in a manner as reciprocally, as the definition and the thing defined. And for the *change of his bed-fellow*, it is well knowne to thoſe that haue read ouer our Chronicles with obſeruation (as your ſelfe pretend you haue) that he being married to her at the age of 10. yeeres or thereabout, proteſted againſt it when he came to 14. in the preſence of *Richard Foxe Biſhop of Wincheſter*, and *Iohn Reade a publique Notary*, as appeares by a deed vnder his owne hand, being then *Prince of Wales*, beſides the Counſell both of *Spaine* and of *France*, treating a mariage for the Lady *Mary*, the one with *Charles the Emperour*, the other with *Henry Duke of Orleans*, they both made a doubt whether the mariage of her mother, hauing bene wife to the Kings owne brother could be diſpenſed with, or the children begot in this ſecond bed legitimate, and by Law allowed to ſucceed to the crowne: nay which is

B

more,

1 It is to be noted that some of these Vniuersities professe in their published instruments, that they tooke an oath to deliuer and to study vpon the foresaid questions, as should be to the pleasure of God, and according to conscience, the copie whereof is to be seene in our English Chronicles.

2 After the determinations of these Vniuersities were read in open Parliament, there were shewen about a 100. bookes drawn by Doctours of strange regions, which all agreed the Kings marriage to be vnlawfull.

more, *D. Longland* then Bishop of *Lincolne* the kings Confessor, after it had long slept, reuiued this Scruple in the kings conscience, the *Cardinall* being Archbishop of *Yorke*, and Legate to the *Pope*, together with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the rest of the Bishops (*Rocheſter* onely excepted, who was then lately made Cardinall, but lost his head before his hat came ouer) subscribed and sealed to the iustnesse of the diuorce, both our ¹Vniuersities, yea, many beyond the Seas to the number of 10. or 12. some of them in *Italy* it selfe, and vnder the *Popes* peculiar iurisdiction confirmed it vnder their common seales, diuerse of our ²Doctours, being purposely sent to *Rome* about it, offered dispute before the *Pope* to proue it, *Crammer* in a priuate conference at *Vienna* with *Cornelius Agrippa* (then following the Emperour, & euery where admired for his learning) so fully satisfied him that he held the proposition most true, if it could be proued that the Lady *Katherine* was carnally knowen of Prince *Arthur*, whereof the presumptions were great. The one was, that Prince *Henry* was deferred from his creation, and title of *Prince of Wales*, by the space of sixe moneths after *Arthurs* decease, vpon a supposition that the Lady *Katherine* might be by him conceived with childe: Another was that for this cause the said Lady procured a second *Bull* from the *Pope* with this addition [*Vel forsan cognitam*] and peraduenture carnally knowen, which *Bull* was onely purchased to dispense with this mariage. A third presumption was from the report of Prince *Arthurs* Chamberlaine vpon certaine words spoken by the *Prince* the first morning that he rose from his bed. A fourth was the relation of the Ambassadors of *Ferdinando* her father king of *Spaine*, being sent hither purposely to see the mariage consummated, who returned their knowledge of their mutuall coniunction by the markes, and that nothing was left vnperformed of any nuptiall right: And surely they being both of yeeres able enough to accomplish the acte, he about 15. and she about 17. laid both in one bed almost siue moneths together, doe assure vs the certainty of that which in this businesse is made the greatest scruple. These were the reasons which in appearance moued

Henry

Henry the VIII. to the *remouing of his bed-fellow*, not those which you as fondly imagine, as you suggest maliciously. I doe not take vpon me the clearing of this king from all the blame that is cast vpon him: yet I may truely say that strangers haue bene more fauourable vnto him, then our owne countrey-men, he being deeply and bitterly taxed not onely by *Saunders* (from whom nothing but such slanders could be expected) but by a later writer, professing himsele of our owne Church, to the great content of the Romish faction, whose obligation notwithstanding to the daughter in the censure of wise men might deseruedly haue purchased some more respectiue termes of the Father: whereas *Thuanus* the most vnpartiall and iudicious Historiographer of our age giues this testimonie of him, that [he was a Prince of singular naturall indowments, and such a one in whom (had hee not too much loosened the reines to this pleasure) you could hardly find wanting any perfection. Nay after his diuorce from his Queene, and from the Church of *Rome*, the Bishops which hee named (sayth hee) were honest men and good Schollers, being euer himsele a great Patron of learning] which testimonie I the rather alledge, because the *Spanish expurgatorie index* hath rased it, as also diuers other verie memorable passages in this Author.

B. C.

5.

Thus I satisfied my selfe at Schoole, and studied the Artes and Philosophie, and other humane learning, vntill being Master of Artes, and fellow of Corpus Christi Colledge in Cambridge, I was at last by the Statutes of that house, called to the studie of Divinitie, and bound to take vpon me the Order of Priest-hood, then I thought it my duetie for the better satisfaction of mine owne soule, and the sauing of other mens, to looke as farre into the matter as possible I could, that I might find out the Trueth, and hauing the opportunity of a very good Librarie in that Colledge: I resolved with my selfe to studie hard, and setting aside all respect of men then

¹ How learnedly you vnderstood the state of the question betwixt vs, appears after ward in setting downe the opinion of the Church of Rome touching Images. ² No mention at all of reading the Scriptures, that was too base a worke for so great a Clerke.

aline, or of Writers that had mooned or maintained Controuersies (farther then to ¹ vnderstand the question which was betwixt them) I fell to my prayers, and betooke my selfe wholly to the reading of the ² Church Historie, and of the ancient Fathers, which had no interest on either side, and specially I made choise of S. Augustine, because I hoped to find most comfort in him for the confirming of our Religion, and the confuting of the Church of Rome.

G. H.

5.
After your perusing the *Chronicles of England*, you betake your selfe to the reading of the *Church Historie*, and ancient Fathers, and in speciall make choise of S. Augustine in whom you find the doctrine of Rome euery where confirmed, and ours confuted: But I would faine know whether one maine point of the doctrine of the Church of Rome be not the Supremacie of that Sea, and whether a chiefe feather in that wing be not Appeals from forraine parts. Now whether S. Augustine approued them, I appeale to his practise, being one of those Bishops in the Councell of *Carthage*, who discovered and disclaimed the impudencie and forgerie of the Church of Rome, in challenging that as right, which some of constraint had performed, and others of courtesie had graunted, for which himselfe with his Fellow-Bishops were excommunicated by the Bishop of Rome, and (for any thing I can finde in the Church Historie) so died. Some of his workes I haue read, specially those of Christian doctrine, and of them I will be bold to say that they confirme no one point of *Romish* doctrine controuersed at this day: and surely there, if any where, had beene the proper place to declare the Bishop of Rome Supream iudge in all controuersies.

B. C.

B. C.

6.

In this sort I spent my time continually for many yeeres, and noted downe whatsoever I could gather, or rather snatch either from the Scriptures, or the Fathers to serue my turne: But when after all my paines and desire to serue my selfe of Antiquitie, I found the doctrine of the Church of Rome to be euery where confirmed, & by most profound demonstrations out of ¹ holy Scripture made most agreeable to the trueth of Christs ² Gospel, and most conformable to all ³ Christian soules, and saw the ⁴ current opinions of our great Preachers euery where confuted, either in plaine termes, or by most vnanswerable consequence, although mine vnderstanding was thereby greatly edified (for which I had great reason to render immortall thanks to our blessed Saviour, who by these meanes had vouchsafed to shewe himselfe vnto mee) yet my heart was much ⁵ grieved, that I must be faine either not to preach at all, or to crosse and varie from the doctrine which I saw was commonly received.

¹ How comes it to passe then, that the profound Doctors for proofof many doctrines of that Church, forsake the Scriptures, & fieto traditions?

² As if in your learning, the Gospel were not Scripture.

³ Belike therewe in these colde Northerne Cli-

mates haue no Christian soules. ⁴ When those Preachers shalbe named, and their current opinions specified, and the passages quoted, by which they are confuted, I doubt not but the vnanswerable consequents will finde a sufficient answer, in the meane time you must giue vs leaue to suspect that *Dolus latet in vniuersalibus*, falsehood insists vpon generals. ⁵ Wee haue good reason to thinke you were not so much grieved for crossing those great preachers you speake of, as that thereby your present was crossed.

G. H.

6.

I haue perused your Common-place booke, written for the most part with your owne hand, and indeed it thereby appeares that your noting might more deseruedly bee termed a *snatching*, then a *gathering*, though by your will you solemnly bequeath it as a rich legacie to C. C. C. in *Camb.* whereof you were a Fellow: but you found the doctrine of the Church of Rome, (you say,) euery where confirmed by most profound demonstrations from holy Scripture; in trueth I must confesse they are so deepe, that throughout this treatise they are inuisible; but I much desire to knowe by what profound demonstration from holy Scripture, you would proue the adoration of images, the ad-

B 3

ministration

ministration of the Sacrament vnder one kinde, the exercise of publike prayer in a language not vnderstood of the people, or lattly the Bishop of *Romes* vsurpation ouer the temporals of Princes, vnlesse you bring *Bellarmines* profound demonstration to that purpose [*Pasce oues meas,*] or *Baronius* [*Surge occide & manduca*] or the Canonists [*fecit Deus duo magna luminaria*] much like a profound demonstration I haue heard of for prooffe of the Salique law [*the lillies neither labour nor spinne*] therefore the Crowne of France [*ne tombe point sur la quenouille*] fals not to the distaffe: or like that of a Frier, who would needs proue that ten worlds were made in the first Creation, and that out of our Sauours wordes in the Gospel [*annon decem facti sunt mundi*] but he was well answered by his brother in the words following, [*Sed vbi sunt nouem?*] and did hee not deserue the title of *D. profundus* trow you, for so profound a demonstration? By such like profound demonstrations, you find the doctrine of the Church of *Rome* made most agreeable to the trueth of Christs Gospel, which for the Sacrament is, [** drinke yee all of this,*] and for the power of his ministers, [** my kingdome is not of this world,*] wordes deliuered as it seemes out of a propheticall spirit, as foreseeing what errours should in after ages spring vp in his Church, but you doe well to say that *those doctrines were made agreeable to this trueth*: they may bee made so, or at leastwise made to seeme so, by forging and hammering vpon the anuill of mens conceits, howbeit in themselves they are not so, as the belles seeme to the childe to ring that tune which runnes in his head.

¹ Such a profound demonstration is that of *Bellarmines* out of *Petrus Damianus*, to shew the reason why in the Popes old Seales S. Paul was on the right hand of S. Peter, because forsooth Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin, and Benjamin signifies the sonne of the right hand, and for this he quotes Gen. 35. and 42.

* *Matth.* 26. 27.

* *Iohn* 18. 36.

B. C.

7.

Being thus perplexed with my selfe what course I were best to take, I reflected backe againe vpon the Church of England; and because the most of those Preachers which drew the people after them in those dayes were Puritans, and had grounded their diuinitie vpon *Caluins* institutions, I thought peradventure that they hauing gotten the multitude on their side, might wrong the Church of England

England in her doctrine, as well as they deſired to doe in her diſcipline, which indeed upon due ſearch, I found to be moſt true: for I found the Common prayer booke, and the Catechiſme therein contained, to hold no point of doctrine expreſly contrary to Antiquitie, but onely that it was very defectiue, and contained not enough: and for the doctrine of ¹ Predeſtination, Sacraments, Grace, Freewill, Sinne, the new Catechiſme and Sermons of thoſe Preachers did run wholly againſt the Common prayer booke, and Catechiſme therein, and did make as little account of the doctrine eſtabliſhed by law, as they did of the diſcipline: but in the one they found oppoſition by thoſe that had priuate intereſt, in the other they ſaid what they liſt, becauſe no man thought himſelfe^x hurt.

G. H.

7

If our Common prayer Booke and Catechiſme therein contained, holde no point of Doctrine contrarie to Antiquitie (as you affirme,) Surely the Church of Rome muſt needs be contrary to Antiquitie, in as much as it holds diuers points contrarie to it: If we ſhould beginne with the Preface, which is confirmed by equall authoritie of State, as the bodie of the booke, it tels vs in the verie entrance, [there was neuer any thing by the wit of man ſo well deuised, or ſo ſure eſtabliſhed, which in continuance of time hath not beene corrupted, as among other things it may plainly appeare by the Common praier in the Church, commonly called Diuine Seruice (the reaſon is added a little after,) in as much as the godly and decent orders of the Fathers were altered and neglected, by planting in vncertaine Stories, Legends, Reſponds, Verſes, vaine repetitions, Commemorations, Synodals, that commonly when any Booke of the Bible was begunne, before three or foure Chapters were read out, all the reſt were vnread.] Another reaſon is there annexed. [that whereas S. Paul would haue none other language ſpoken to the people in the Church, then they vnderſtand, and haue profited by hearing of the ſame, the Seruice in this Church of England theſe many yeeres hath beene read
in

in Latine to the people, which they vnderstand not; so that they haue heard with their eares onely, but their minde hath not bene edified thereby.

Now for the bodie of the Common prayer Booke, I will first beginne with the diuision of the Commandements, The Church of *Rome* ioyneth the two first in one, the better thereby to cloke their Idolatrie in the worship of Images: But the Common prayer Booke of the Church of *England* diuideth them into two, therein following (two of the Fathers at most excepted) all Antiquitie. The Church of *Rome* in the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, teacheth that we eate and drinke the Body and Blood of Christ carnally: The Common prayer of the Church of *England* in the forme of administering that Sacrament, that wee doe both Spiritually and by Faith feed on him in our hearts, eating and drinking in remembrance that CHRIST dyed and shed his Blood for vs, The Church of *Rome* holdeth, that the Oblation of the Bodie of CHRIST is to be iterated: The Common prayer Booke of the Church of *England*, that being by himselfe once offered, hee is a full perfect and sufficient Sacrifice for the finnes of the whole world, which also meeteth with the Romish satisfaction for Veniall finnes, as they call them, and temporall punishment dew to Mortall. The Church of *Rome* teacheth, that the outward Sacrament of Water sufficeth to saue Infants: The Common prayer Booke of the Church of *England* in the administration of publike Baptisme, that the working of the holy Ghost is to be ioyned thereunto. The Church of *Rome* teacheth, that Laijks and Women may in some cases lawfully Baptise: The Common prayer Booke of the Church of *England* in the administration of priuate Baptisme, that none may doe it lawfully but the lawfull Minister. The Church of *Rome* teacheth, that children may bee confirmed before they come to yeres of discretion, and are able to yeeld an account of their Faith: The Common prayer Booke of the Church of *England* in the order set downe for Confirmation, teacheth and commandeth the contrarie. More might bee sayed to this point, but this shall suffice to shew that if the *Common prayer Booke*

Booke of the Church of England be in no point of doctrine contrarie to Antiquitie (as M^r Doctor affirmeth) then must Antiquitie needs bee contrarie to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, in as much as the doctrine thereof, and our Common prayer Booke are contrarie each to other.

But you further adde that *though it containe no point contrarie to Antiquitie, yet is it verie defectiue, and containeth not enough.* Indeed we confesse & we goe not so far as the Church of Rome; but so far as we haue warrant. We pray to God in the Name of CHRIST, they to God & to Saints. We pray for the liuing, they for the liuing and the dead. We acknowledge 2. Sacraments, they to those two adde siue more. We make the Communion of the Eucharist properly a Sacrament, they a Sacrament and a sacrifice, and that propitiatorie. We hope to be saued by the merits of Christ, they by his merits and their owne: the principall ground of all these additions is, that we make Scripture the onely rule of faith, they both Scripture and traditions: and by mingling the water of their owne inuentions with the wine of the Gospel, they haue made the Law of Christ of none effect. And surely if defect may iustly bee imputed to vs, excellence may much rather to them, who in their Pontificall spend seuen leaves in the largest fol. onely about the benediction of bells (which is indeed little different from Baptisme) and many hundreds about such sopperies and trifles, as wise men among themselves cannot but laugh at, and yet dare not speake against, and good men pitie, though they cannot remedy.

I I marueile what doctrine of predestination, grace, free-will, or siune you finde in the Common Prayer booke, or Catechisme therein; the end of the one being not to set downe doctrinall positions, but the exercise of religious actes, and of the other, as briefly as may bee, to instruct children in the principles of Christian religion, not men of riper age in the controuerfies.

It is to me strange, that you dare write thus to his Maiestie, who made it knowne to the world by his pen (when other Christian Princes and Churches were silent) that hee thought himselfe hurt by the pestilent subtilties of *Vorsinus*, howbeit he were not vnder his dominions, & by *Legate* his own subiect,

who was burnt at London for Arianisme some few yeeres since. But surely I am clearely of opinion that his Holinesse would take it much more to heart, and *thinke himselfe more hurt*, if a Frier should preach against his power in deposing Kings, and disposing of kingdomes, then if he denied the eternall generation of the second person in Trinitie from the first, or the proceffion of the third from the other two.

B. C.

8.

¹ It seemes then your Puritane (for you tell vs before, those preachers were such) may be a very honest man, yet afterwards you tell vs their principles are such as ouerthrow all honesty.

² As loth as you were to oppose them in publike, yet you did as farre as you durst, as your selfe afterwards confesse.

³ The faith in which you were baptized, is the same which now is professed in the Church of England, and that I am sure no man expected, you should oppugne.

This truly was an increase of my grieve: for knowing diuerse of those Preachers to be very¹ honest men, and such as I did lone with all my heart, I was very loth to dissent from them in priuate, much more loth to² oppose them in publike: and yet seeing I must needs preach, I was lothest of all to oppugne mine owne conscience, together with the faith wherein I was³ baptized, and the soules of those to whome I preached, neuerthelesse hauing gotten this ground to worke upon, I began to comfort my selfe with hope to proue that the religion established in England was the same, at the least in part,⁴ which now was, and euer had beene beld in the Catholique Church, the defects whereof might be supplied, whensoever it should please God to moue your Maiestie thereunto, without abrogating that which was already by Law established: which I still pray for, and am not altogether out of⁵ hope to see, and therefore I thought it my duty, as farre as I durst, rather by⁶ charitable constructions to reconcile things that seemed different, that so our soules might bee for euer samed in vniety, then by malicious calumniation to maintaine quarrels, that so mens iurnes might for a time bee serued in dissention.

G. H.

8.

¹ How then can we bee esteemed *heretiques*, who broach their owne fantasies, since holding as the Church of England doth

doth, we hold *the same that the Catholike Church hath ever held?*

M Truly you had little reason to hope to liue to see those vnwarrantable *Supplies* (you speake of,) by his Maiesties command, aswell in regard of your owne infirmities of body, as his MAIESTIES strong resolution of minde to the contrarie: but it may bee your intelligence deceiued you: sure wee are your hope failed you.

N Touching your opinion of *Reconciliation*, whether it may be thought to proceede of charitie, or arrogancie, as also whether it be probable, or in a maner possible, as the case now stands, I shall haue fitter opportunitie to discusse hereafter, then in this place. Yet giue mee leaue by the way to tell you, that in my iudgement you call that *Vnise*, which is indeed distraction, it tending to nothing els but a rent and a drawing of vs further from other reformed Churches, and neerer to the Church of *Rome*: for if this were not your meaning, the same charitable constructions would haue serued to reconcile things that to you (looking through the false spectacles of preiudice & passion) seemed verie different betwixt vs & other reformed Churches abroad, much better, & easier then for the reconciling of those maine & broad differences, which are indeed betwixt vs and the Church of *Rome*. Of which I feare I may too truly say, as *Abraham* doth to the rich glutton in hel, [**between you and vs there is a great gulf set; so that they which would goe from hence to you can not, neither can they come from thence to vs.*] I speake in regard of *Reconciliation* in differences of Religion; for otherwise but too manie are suffered to goe from hence thither, and hauing sucked their poison, to returne againe at their pleasures, for the vomiting of it out amongst vs, notwithstanding the sharpe penalries and great gulf set betwene vs.

* Luke 16. 26.

B. C.

9.

In this course although I did neuer proceed any farther then law

C 2

would

1 I had thought before that a Puritane and a Calvinist, & a creature of Schisme in your language had bene all one.

2 If David himselfe bee a Schismaticke, as you make him, how were the creatures of Schisme to strong for him?

3 Those whom you call temperate men, we may suspect to bee neutrals, made of lincie woollie, neither hote nor cold, but halting betweene two opinions, 1. Kings 18. 21.

4 That which you call honest preaching of the Truth, wee take to be the nearest approaching that may be to *Romish* gates.

would give me leave, yet I found the *Parisians* and *Calvinists*, and all the creatures of Schisme to be my utter enemies, who were also like the *sonnes of Zeruiah* too strong for *Dauid* himselfe, 2. Sam 3. 39. but I well perceived that all *temperate* and *understanding* men, who had no interest in the Schisme, were glad to heare the *truesb* & *honestly*, and *plainely* preached unto them: and my hope was by *patience* and *continuance*, I should in the ende *unmaske* *hypocrisie*, and *gaine* *credite* to the *comfortable doctrine* of *Antiquitie*, even amongst those also, who out of *misinformation* and *preiudice* did as yet most *mislike* it. And considering with my selfe that your right to the *Crowne* came onely by *Catholikes*, and was *ancienter* then the Schisme, which would very *saime* haue *utterly* *extinguished* it, and that both your *disposition* by nature, your *amitie* with *Catholike Princes*, your *speeches*, and your *proclamations* did at the beginning, all tend to *peace* and *vnitie*, I hoped that this *endenour* of mine to enforce *Catholike Religion*, at the least as farre as the *Common prayer Booke* and *Catechisme* would give leave, should be well accepted of your *MAIESTIE*, and bee as an *introduction* unto farther *peace* and *vnitie* with the *Church of Rome*.

5 Herein you failed not, in that at last you *unmasked* your owne *hypocrisie*.

G. H.

6 His *MAIESTIES* right to the *Crowne* is double, the one from his mother *lineally* descending of the first match of the *Ladie Margaret* daughter to *Henric the VII.* and sister to *Henric the VIII.* Kings of *England*, with *James the fourth King* of *Scotland*, his *MAIESTIES* great *Grandfather*, who though she imbraced that Religion in which shee was brought vp, being neuer acquainted with any other, yet as his *Maiesty* obserueth in his *Monitorie Preface* to the *Christian Princes*, [shee disliked some of the *superstitious Ceremonies*, and abhorred those new opinions, which the *Jesuits* call *Catholike*.] His second right aboue any other pretendor was from his father descended

scended of the second match of the sayd Ladie Margaret with Archibald Douglas, Earle of Angus, being brought vp in Q. Elizabeths Court, whose father the Duke of Lenox professing the reformed religion, as well appeared by his practise in his life, in receiuing the Sacrament after the manner of the reformed Churches, and by the confession of his faith in the hearing of many ministers at his death, in all likelihood his Maiesties father himselfe should be that way affected, though Cardinall Bellarmine vpon the relation of I know not whom, would faine haue it otherwise. And whereas you say that *schisme would faine haue extinguished his Maiesties right*, it is well knowen, that those whom you call *schismatikes*, were the chiefe instruments vnder God to preserve his Maiesties not onely right, but life; against the fury of some, whom you call *Catholikes*, both before his mothers death, and since.

P. From his Maiesties progenitors, you come to his owne disposition by nature; his amity with *Catholike Princes*, his speeches, his Proclamations, which all ended at the beginning (you say) to peace and vnitie: True indeed it is that his Maiestie by nature is disposed to mercy, his amitie with *Christian Princes* argues his charitie, and heretofore ingenuitie, voide of ielousie & suspicion, euen where occasiō may seem to be giuen, his speeches and Proclamations were not bloody; yet all this could not serue your turne, as a sufficient warrant to endeauro a peace with the Church of Rome in matters of religion: no more then a league with the great Turke for traffike should giue occasion of ioyning with him in Mahometisme; but had you withall with the other eye reflected a litle backe vpon his Maiesties education from his very Cradle, the choice of his aliance in mariage, his counsel to his sonne touching the matter of religion in the first booke of his *Basilicon Doron*, his exposition published vpon the 7. 8. 9. and 10. verses of the 20. chapter of the *Reuel.* or lastly his subscription to the confession of his faith, in the yere 1581, alsoon as he came to yeeres of discretion: you would haue had little reason to haue presumed so farre vpon him for hearkening to any peace with the Church of Rome, [*as long as her whore domes and witchcrafts remains,*] yet in such abundance, and being of-

* *Ierem. 51. 9.*

ferred onre, (chat we might know she is Babylon) she hath, and still doth wilfully ^{refuse to be cured.}

But the sandie ground of the vaine presumption will yet more liuely appeare, if the forme of that subscription bee well considered: in which hauing rehearsed and renounced the chiefe points of Popery, as namely, the Popes vsurped authoritie ouer the Scriptures, ouer the Church, ouer the ciuill Magistrate, and the consciences of men, his deuillish masse, his blasphemous Priesthood, his profane sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, and, in a word, the erroneous and bloody decrees of the *Council of Trem*, hee promisseth and sweareth by the great name of the Lord God, to perseuere in that faith, and to defend it all the dayes of his life, to the utmost of his power, vnder paine of all the Curses contained in the Law, and the danger both of bodie and soule, in the fearefull day of iudgement: and further straightly chargeth and commandeth all his officers and ministers, to make the same subscription themselves, and to take it of others vnder their charge, and lest we should thinke that arriuing to riper age hee altered his iudgement, in his instructions to his sonne, he giues vs this assurance, *As for the particular points of religion (saith hee) I neede not to dilate them, I am no hypocrite; follow my footesteps, and your owne present education therein.*

B. C.

10.

But when after my long hope I at the last did plainly perceiue that God for our finnes, had suffered the deuill, the author of dissension, so farre to preuaile, as partly by the furious practise of some desperate Catholikes, and partly by the¹ fiery suggestions of all² violent Puritans, hee had quite diuerted that peaceable and temperate course which was hoped for, and that I must now either alter my iudgement, which was impossible, or preach against my conscience, which was intolerable; Lord, what anxietie and distraction of soule did I suffer day & night: what strife betwixt my iudgement

¹ You might more properly haue applied fiery to your desperate Cath. for such was their practise.

² There needed no great violence to aggravate the haynousnesse of that plot.

³ How comes it then to passe that notwithstanding all this in the next chap. you so earnestly labour the conversion of his Maiestie, and the whole Realme.

ment, which was wholly for the ⁸ peace and vnitie of the Church, and my affection which was wholly to enioy the ⁹ fauour of your Maiesty, and the loue of my friends, and Countrey: this grieve of soule now growing desperate, did still more and more increase the infirmities of my body: and yet I was so loth to become a professed Catholike, with the displeasure of your Maiestie, and of all my honorable and louing friends, as I rather desired to silence my iudgement with the profits and pleasures of the world, which was before mee, then to satisfie it with reconciling my selfe unto the Catholique Church. But it was Gods will, that euer, as I was about to forget the care of religion, and to settle my selfe to the world among my neighbours, I met with such humours, as I saw by their violence against Catholikes and Catholike religion, were like rather to waken my soule by torture, then bring it asleepe by temper: and therefore I was driuen to recoile to God and to his Church, that I might finde rest unto my soule.

G. H.

10. **Q** Certainly for their sinnes it was, that God suffered them to plot so barbarous a designe, but, for our good, wee hope, if in nothing else, yet in working in vs a stronger hatred of that religion, which produceth such effects, and in awakening vs to beware of the like mischieuous plot againe, if it be possible the like may be plotted: we excuse not our selues, but in this businesse we haue rather tasted of Gods mercy, which we deserued not, then of his iudgements which wee must acknowledge we deserued.

R *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* what patient eare can endure him talking of nothing but peace and vnity, who did euer blow the coales of dissention, both in Court and Countrey, as well in the Colledge: where he liued a fellow, as in the Church where he was a Canon.

S So it may well be gathered out of your owne words, that the chiefe ground of your grieve was, that you saw your ambitious humour was now crossed, in as much as you could not

Ex ore tuo condemnaberis, serus nequam, Luke 19

keepe

keepe the olde wont, and withall rise to place of honour.
 T Your apostasie, and forsaking the faith, and Church, in which you were baptized, you call a recoiling to God and to his Church; neither will I much stand vpon it, since we know that Antichrist must sit in the Temple of God, bearing himselfe as God.

B. C.

II.

And yet because I had heard often, that the practise of the Church of Rome was contrary to her doctrine, I thought good to make one triall more, before I resolued, and therefore hauing the aduise of diuerse learned Physitians, to goe to the Spaw for the health of my body, I thought good to make a vertue of necessitie, and to get leane to goe the rather for the satisfaction of my soule, hoping to find some greater offence in the seruice of the Church of Rome, then I had done in her bookes, that so I might retorne better contented, and persecute and abhorre the Catholikes at home, after I should find them so wicked and idolatrous abroad, as they were in euery pulpit in England affirmed to be. For this purpose before I would frequent their Churches, I talked with such learned men as I could meet withall, and did of purpose dispute against them, and with all the wit and learning I had, both iustifie the doctrine of England established by Law, and obiect their superstition and idolatrie, which I thought they might commit either with the images in the Church, or with the Sacrament of the Altar.

1 What needed any great wit or learning for the justification of that doctrine, which by your owne confession holds no point expressly contrary to antiquity.

G. H.

II.

That is a trueth, to auouch the practise of the Church of Rome to be more grosse then her doctrine, (howbeit we must confesse her doctrine, in many points, to be very grosse) appears by this, that the better and wiser sort among themselves, both in their iudgements and writings, condemne many supereries vually practised by the people, and winked at by their guides,

guides : as their hallowing of graines, and medalls, and beads, by touching some supposed Relique, with opinion of merit, Their praying to fained Saints, and beleeuing forged legends and miracles, Their permitting of publique Stewes, and a Priest to keepe his concubine vnder a yeerely rent, which *Espercaeus* witheth were falsly thrust in among the grieuances of *Germany*, Their setting of certaine rates vpon the most grieuous sinnes before they bee committed, as appeareth in their *Taxa Camera*, Their allowing of Sanctuaries for wilfull murder, Their ordinary buying and selling of foules in Purgatory, as a man would buy an horse in Smithfield, Lastly the making of ghosts to walke and talke at their pleasure, of images to moue, to weepe, to sweate, to speake when they list, are matters which the modester sort dare not defend, and yet the most impudent cannot well deny; and surely for mine owne part I must confesse, that nothing so much moued me to a loathing of their religion, as the beholding of their practise, their whole worship wherein we differ, either consisting in apish ridiculous gestures, or in a meere outward formality, or directed wholly to the greatnesse and gaine of the Clergy. And I haue heard some *English* gentlemen affirme, that being induced by subtilty of argument to the entertaining of some doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the sight of her whorish countenance, and the licentious liues of her chiefe Prelates, euen in *Rome* it selfe, hath wrought them to a distaste of it, as supposing that a face so artificially painted and composed, could not stand with simplicity of truth, nor such lewdnesse in liuing with soundnesse in doctrine, which *Adrian* the VI. by nation a *Netherlander*, one of the best *Popes* of latter dayes, acknowledged to be the chiefe cause of so much scandall in the world, and so generall and eager a desire of reformation, as appears in his instructions to his *Nuntio* to bee deliuered to the *States* of *Germany* assembled in *Diet*, and recorded by *Espercaeus* in his *Commentary* on the first of *Titus*, and therefore promiseth that he would begin with the reformation of his owne Court, as our Sauour did with the Temple : but his disposition being discovered, and his intent knownen, order was

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taken

take that he should not proceed in that busines, being shortly after cut off by vntimely death. So that if you had so pleased, you might *haue found the practise of the Church of Rome much more grosse then her doctrine*, as well for exercise of their religion, as for the liues of their Clergie and religious men: neither needed you to haue vndertaken a voyage to the *Spaw* for that purpose, in as much as you had made, or at least, might haue made triall therof, at your being in *France* with an honourable person imployed thither by his *Maiesty*.

In the last words of your Section going before this, you tell vs that *you were drinen to recoile to God, and his Church, that you might finde rest to your soule*, and here within 10. lines you tell vs, that *you got leaue to travell beyond the Seas, hoping to finde some greater offence in the seruice of that Church, then you had done in her bookes, in her practise, then in her doctrine*: and yet both your instances in the Section following, and conference with learned men argue their doctrine, rather then their practise.

B. C.

12.

Their common answer was, that which by experience I nowe finde to be true, viz. that they doe abhorre all idolatry and superstition, and doe diligently¹ admonish the people to take heed thereof, and they vse images for none other purpose, but onely for a² deuout memorie and representation of the Church triumphant, which is most fit to bee made in the time and place of prayer, where after a more speciall manner we should with all reverence haue³ our conuersation amongst the Saints in heauen.

¹ To allow the people images for religious vse, and then to admonish them that they take heed of idolatry, is as if a man should put an hungry horse in to a goodly pasture, and then command him not to eate, or a child vpon the top of a ladder, and then bid him take heed of a fall.

² Why do they couer them in Lent then? ³ We should indeed haue our conuersation amongst the Saints in heauen, but not amongst their images on earth.

G. H.

G. H.

12.

It appeares by resting satisfied with this answer, that either your wit and learning were very slender to obiect, hauing, as it seemes, scarce looked into later writers, so much as to vnderstand the state of questions controuerfed betweene vs (which notwithstanding you pretend before in your fifth Section) or else your will forestalled by prejudice, was very apt to receiue satisfaction with any answer. For what nouice is there so meanelly studied in Controuerfies, who knowes not that the Church of Rome hath hitherto practised, and stil doth professe, that the use of Images in their Churches, is not onely for memorie and representation, as you affirme, but for worship and adoration: and withall commandeth her Pastours in that Catechisme which they call the *Romane*, to teach the people so. Nay, which is more, they both giue, and maintaine to bee due, the same adoration to the signe of the Crosse, and neither lesse nor more, then is due vnto Christ himselfe, which opinion (as a moderate and iudicious writer hath well obserued) howsoeuer they endeouour to varnish and qualifie with distinctions, which the Schooles in speculation haue boulded out, pretending that the Crosse, which to outward sence presenteth visibly it selfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their secret surmise or conceit, a reference to the person of our Lord Iesus Christ; so that the honour, which they ioyntly doe to both, respecteth principally his person, and the Crosse but onely for his persons sake: yet the people not accustomed to trouble their braines with so nice and subtil differences in the exercise of religion, are apparantly no lesse insnared by adoring the Crosse, then the Iewes by burning incense to the Brazen serpent, and in actions of this kinde, we are more to respect what the greatest part of men are commonly prone to conceiue, then what some fewe mens inuention can deuise in construction of their owne particular meanings.

His Maiesties owne wordes to this purpose are excellent and worthy obseruation. [*But for worshipping either of them*]

D 2

(sayth

M. Hooker in
his 5. booke of
Ecclesiastical po-
licie, Sect. 65.

I sayth hee, speaking of Reliques or Images.) I must account
 " it damnable Idolatry, I am no Iconomachus, I quarrell not
 " the making of images, either for publike decoration, or mens
 " priuate uses: but that they should be worshipped and prayed
 " vnto, or any holinesse attributed vnto them, was neuer
 " known of the ancients: and the Scriptures are so directly,
 " vehemently, and punctually against it, as I wonder what
 " braine of man, or suggestion of Sathan, durst offer it to
 " Christians: and all must be salued with nice Philosophicall
 " distinctions: as, *Idolum nihil est*, and they worship forsooth
 " the Images of things in being, and the Image of the true
 " God, but the Scripture forbiddeth to worship the image of
 " any thing that God created: It was not a nihil then that
 " God forbade onely should bee worshipped, neither was the
 " Brasen serpent, nor the body of Moses a nihil, and yet
 " the one was destroyed, and the other hidden, for eschewing
 " of Idolatrie: yea, the image of God himselfe is not onely ex-
 " pressly forbidden to be worshipped, but euen to be made. The
 " reason is giuen, that no eye euer saw God: and how can wee
 " paint his face, when Moses, the man that euer was most fa-
 " miliar with God, neuer saw but his backe parts? Surely since
 " hee cannot bee drawn to the view, it is a thankelesse labour
 " to marre it with a false representation; which no Prince,
 " nor scarce any other man would be contented with, in their
 " owne pictures. Let them therefore that maintaine this do-
 " ctrine, answere it to Christ at the latter day, when hee shall
 " accuse them of Idolatrie, and then I doubt, if hee will bee
 " payed with such nice Sophisticall distinctions.] Hitherto his
Maiesie, then which, I see not what could bee to this point
 more fully and cleerely spoken.

B. C.

13.

And for the blessed Sacramēt, they do not worship the Accidents which they see, but the Substance which they beleue: and surely if Christ be there truly & really present, (as your Maiestie seemeth to graunt hee is) hee is as much to bee worshipped as if wee saw him with our bodily eyes: neither is there any more Idolatry in the one then in the other. If our blessed Saniour himselfe should visibly appeare in person, as hee was vpon the earth, Iewes and Infidels would hold it for Idolatry to worship him, and would crucifie him againe, and so would all heretikes also, who refuse to worship him in the Sacrament where hee is really present.

G. H.

13.

You tell vs, that the people doe not worship the accidents which they see, but the substance which they see not: but the question is, whether they rightly beleue the substance of Christs body to lie hidden, and as it were buried vnder those Accidents? which I am sure Saint Augustine (on whom you so much relie) is so farre from defending, or else the adoration of Images before mentioned, that in diuerse places hee maintaineth the cleare contrarie to both. And to grant that after the words of Consecration pronounced, the bodie of Christ is there folded or kneaded vp in a bodily maner, yet whether the Priest that pronounceth them, be rightly Ordered, and if hee be, whether hee pronounce them with the intent that the Church intends, they may iustly make a doubt, and consequently a question, whether their worship bee idolatrous or no: for in such cases by confession of all, instead of Christs bodie, they worship the bread: for our parts, wee constantly beleue him to be in heauen, and not in the bread, whereas we make a iust doubt whether a great part of them, who beleue him to be in the bread, doe with like constancie beleue that hee is in heauen. You

D 3

further.

further addeth that if he be truly and really present (as his MAIESTIE seemeth to graunt) he is as much to be worshipped, as if wee saw him with our bodily eyes. But indeed it is not the seeing of him with our bodily eyes, that makes the matter, or giues occasion of worshipping; for then a blind man could not worship him at all, nor a seeing man in the darke; but the beleeuing of him to be present in a bodily manner. Wee beleue him then with his MAIESTIE (it being *Caluins* opinion expressed in the very selfe same termes) to be truly and really present; but in a manner Sacramentall, not bodily, and consequently not to bee worshipped there, as being not wrapped vp vnder the accidents of bread, but triumphing in heauen.

And here by your leaue how submissiuely soeuer you would seeme in other places to carrie your selfe towards his Maiesie, you make bold to put the title of *Heretike* vpon him, and to ranke him among no better then Iewes and Infidels: But our iust defence is, that after the way which you call *Heresie*, we giue more true and lawfull honour to our blessed Saviour then you, casting all that religious worship which you giue to the blessed Virgin, to Angels, to Saints, to the bread in the Eucharist, to Images, to Reliques, to the Crosse; and all that opinion of Merit, of Supererogation, and Satisfaction, which you ascribe either to your selues, or others, wholly and solely vpon him, either as God, or as Man, or as Mediatour betwixt God and Man: onely wee denie to giue that honour to his Image, or the bread in the Eucharist, which is as essentially due to him, as to them vndue.

B. C.

14.

I tolde you
before you were
prepossest with
preiudice, which
made you obiect
so weakely,

After diuers other obiections ¹ not so much because I was not, as because I desired not to be satisfied, I came to the Popes supposed pride and tyrannie ouer Kings and Princes, and tolde them of the most horrible Treason intended and practised by Catholikes against your MAIESTIE, which hath not yet beene iudicially condemned

demned by the Church of Rome, They all seemed to ² abhorre the fact, as much as the best Subiects in the world, and much more to fauour and defend the authoritie of Kings and Princes then Heretikes doe. And they sayed that although your Maiestie were out of the Church, yet they doubted not but if ³ complaint were made in a iudiciall proceeding, that fact should be iudicially condemned. In the meane time it was sufficient ⁴ that all Catholike writers did condemne it, and that the Pope by his Breue had condemned it, exhorting the Catholikes of England to all Christian patience and obedience, and as for any ⁵ other authoritie or superioritie of the Pope, then such as is spiritual and necessary for the vniue of the Church, I haue met with none that doe stand vpon it.

in whom he professeth that he acknowledgeth no right of proceeding iudicially in the censure of his owne Subiects. ⁴ All those Writers whom you call Catholikes, doe so condemne it, as they seeme rather to thinke it vnforgotten in the successe, then mischieuous in the plot. ⁵ What authoritie this is, will appeare in *Pius* his Bull, whose words are these, And him alone hath hee made chiefe ouer all nations and kingdomes, who may alone root out, destroy, scatter, waste, plant, and build that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutuall charitie, might be kept in the vniue of the Spirit.

² Had it taken effect they would haue abhorred it as *Sixtus* did the Friars murdering of *Henry* the III. of France in the Consistorie of Cardinals, where he compares it to the worke of our Redemption.

³ A likely matter that his Maiestie should make complaint in a iudicial proceeding to him,

G. H.

14.

You well say they seemed to abhorre the fact, it being of the nature of those whereof *Tacitus* speakes, *Quæ nunquam laudantur nisi peracta*, which are neuer commended till they are ended, had it taken effect according to their designs, for the setting vp of their Religion among vs, it had vndoubtedly bin recorded a most happie and fortunate successe, which now by abortion onely and miscarriage, is stiled an horrible Treason. And if they defend the authoritie of Kings and Princes, much more then they, whom they call *Heretikes*, I would faine know how it comes to passe, that more of those Princes whom you call *Catholikes*, permit within their Dominions the publike exercise of Religion to those *Heretikes*, then the contrarie. Surely in my iudgement it is an euident argument, that *Christian* States conceiue reason to bee more iealous of the one, then of the other, neither is the reason farre to be sought, since the one acknowledgeth no Supreme forreine power which the

the other doth : but the *Pope* (you say) *condemned the Powder-plot by his Breue*, I much desire to see that *Breue* of the *Popes* which condemnes it. I suppose it is most like to be found on the backside of *Constantins* donation, as an Ambassador of *Venice* told the *Pope* touching his right to the *Adriatique Sea*, or we may say of it, *Brenis esse laboro obscurus fio*, hee is so brieve and obscure in it, as we can find no such matter. Two *Brenes* of *Clements* I remember I haue heard of for the withstanding of his *Maiesties* entrance to the Crowne, and two others of *Paulus V.* against the taking of the oath of allegiance (which I marueile M. Doctour neuer vouchsafed so much as once to remember through his Letter) but any against the *Powder-plot*, I cannot call to minde I haue seene, or so much as heard of. Lastly wheras you beare vs in hand, that the *Popes* fauorites stand upon none other authoritie for their Master, then such as is spirituall and necessary for the vniity of the Church, I guesse their meaning to be *Bellarmines* [indirect power in temporals, or temporall power in ordine ad spiritualia, in relation to spirituall dueties,] which is in trueth vpon the matter, as much as can be demanded by them, and more then must be granted by vs ; it reaching to the deposition of Princes from their thrones, and the disposition of their Crownes, when his Holinesse shall iudge it fit for the vniity of the Church, as well appeared in his *Bulls*, both against King *Henry* the father, and *Queene Elizabeth* the daughter. And thus farre *Cardinall Perron* that peaceable man, and your great Patron, expresse himselfe in the last assemblie of the three estates of *France*, for which the *Pope* gaue him, and the rest of the Clergy, who stucke to him in that businesse, as great thankes, as if they had saued Saint *Peters* shippe from sinking : both the *Cardinall* and the *Pope* supposing as it seemes, [that those sparkes flew into *France* from the fire of *England*.] howsoeuer sure it is they were quenched by the water of *Tyber*.

B. C.

15.

So that whereas my ¹ hope was that by finding out the ² corruptions of the Church of Rome, I should grow further in love with the Church of England, and ioyfully returne home, and by inueighing against the Papists, both enioy my present preferments, and obtaine more and more, I saw the matter was like to fall out cleane contrary. It is true indeed that there are many corruptions in all States; God hath not his wheat field in this world wherein the deuill hath no tares growing, and there are no tares ³ more ranke then those that grow among the wheat: for optimi corruptio pessima, and where grace aboundeth, if it be contemned, there sinne aboundeth much more. But seeing my reading and experience hath now taught me, that the truth of Christian Religion taught and practised at this day in the Church of Rome, and all the obedient members thereof, is the very same in ⁴ substance which was prefigured and prophesied from the beginning of the world, perfected by CHRIST himselfe, deliuered to his Apostles, and by them and their Successours perpetually and vniuersally practised vntill this day, without any ⁵ substantiall alteration, and that the new religion in England wherein it doth differ, hath no ground, but either the pleasure of the Prince and Parliament, or the common crye and voyce of the people, nor no constancie or agreement with it (else, what should I now doe? It is not in my power not to know that which I doe know, nor to doubt of that which I haue spent so much time, and taken so much paines, and bestowed so much cost, and made so many trials to find. And I know if I should yeeld to be reconciled to the Church, I should be in this world in all likelihood ⁶ utterly vndone, and which grieved me more, I should bee reiected of your Maiestie my most redoubted Lord and Master, and despised by all my deare friends and louers in England.

¹ How could your hope bee such, since your resolution was to the contrary, as appears by your owne words in diuers passages before.

² Your selfe within a few lines after, acknowledge you found many.

³ So that it seemes by your owne confession the greatest corruptions are to be found in the Church of Rome, seeing by Gods wheate field in your vnderstanding, can bee meant none other, but that Church, in which, in your opinion, grace most aboundeth.

⁴ Belike then you saw some broad difference in the circumstance.

⁵ You made sure worke for that, by carrying ouer store of opinions with you, & by obtaining pensions from the Pope, the Q. Mother of France, and Cardinall Perron.

G. H.

15.

w The Church of Rome holds indeed the substance of
E Christian

* Gal. 3. 21.

Christian Religion in profession, but yet by consequence shakes the foundation of it, as it holds the death of Christ to be satisfactory for sinne, and yet adding thereunto her owne meritorious satisfaction consequently by the latter, she overthrowes the former, for [* *If righteousness be by the Law, then Christ died without a cause:*] and in reason impossible it is, if traditions be held of equall valed with the Scriptures, for the constituting of substantiall points, but that in short-time there should ensue a substantiall alteration, and he that knowes not that the Church of Rome holds many things now, as parts of the Catholike faith, which it helde not in former ages, knowes little what hath bene anciently held, or now is.

* Col. 2. 20, 21, 22

* 1 Pet. 1. 19.

x If by the religion of England you vnderstand that, which is by Law established) as in comon construction you cannot otherwise be vnderstood,) you cōdemne your selfe out of your owne mouth, in as much as you acknowledge before, *that the religion established by law in England, was the same (saue onely it was somewhat defectiue) which now is, and ever had bene held in the Catholike Church:* and yet here you say, *it hath no ground, but the pleasure of the Prince and Parliament,* whereas in trueth we build vpon the Rocke of the Scriptures, but you vpon the sand of traditions, and which of vs hath the sounder foundation, I appeale no farther, then reason it selfe to iudge. You as though you were not yet [* *dead from the ordinances of the world, burden your selues with traditions, as touch not, taste not, handle not, which all perishe with the vsing and are after the commandements and doctrines of men: but we haue a most sure word of the Prophets, taking heede thereto*] according to S. Peters counsell, [* *as to a light that shineth in a darke place,*] and as our ground is sure; so is our agreement constant, and vniforme in all points materiall and necessary to saluation: whereas in the building of your tower of Babel, such diuersitie of languages is heard, that there is hardly any exposition of Scripture, or point in controuersie, which hath not bene, or is called into question, either directly or by consequent, by some that liued and died in that Church, which you call Catholike, as will easily appeare to him, who shall turne over the volumes

of

of *Cardinall Bellarmine*, which is the true reason, as I suppose, that his workes are not allowed to bee read of all, but of publike professors, and such others as haue speciall permission from their Superiours.

B. C.

16.

These were my thoughts at the Spaw: which did so vexed and afflict my soule, as that the waters could doe my body no good at all, but rather much hurt; neuerthelesse I² auoided the company of Catholikes, abstained from the Church, and did both dispute and write against the Church of Rome, as occasion was offered. I still hoped that time would giue better counsell, and therefore resolved to goe from the Spaw to Heidelberg, to doe my duetie there; in the meane time, I thought with my selfe, it may be, God hath moued his Maieities heart to³ peace and reconciliation, I knowe his disposition was so in the beginning, and I remember M. Casaubon told me, when I⁴ brought him out of France, that his errand was nothing else but to mediate peace betweene the Church of Rome and the Church of England. Therefore I thought, before I would submit my selfe to the Church of Rome, I would write vnto M. Casaubon such a letter as he might shew vnto your Maiestie, containing such conditions as I thought might satisfie your Maiestie, if they were performed by the Church of Rome. The copie of which letter is too long here to set down: But when M. Casaubon answered me, that he knew your Maiestie was⁵ resolved to haue no societie with the Church of Rome, vpon any condition whatsoever, and that it would be my undoing if those my letters should come to your Maiesties hands, or of those that bare the way, I began to despair of my returne into England, vnlesse I would ouerthrow both the health of my bodie and the quiet of my minde, and either vterly damne mine owne soule, and greatly indanger not onely my lining and credit, but my⁶ life it selfe also, by reason of your Maie-

¹ It may bee those afflictions serued to free you from Purgatorie, as you presume in the conclusion of your letter, otherwise I see not, why you should afflict your selfe for chusing the only supposed meanes of your salvation.

² You disputed with such learned men as you could meet with, and yet auoided the companie of Catholiks, you promise his Maiesty to remember him at the dayly oblation, and yet you abstained from their Churches.

³ That which you call peace, is a betraying of the truth, and that which you call a reconciliation, is a rent fit for reformed Churches.

⁴ I marueile who gave you

authoritie to bring M. Casaubon ouer from France.

⁵ Hauing received this answer, what moued you to be so fauicie and importunate to moue his Maiestie the second time to entertaine societie with that Church.

⁶ Though you loued that Romish religion well, you loued your life better.

ties displeasure, and the severitie of the Statutes made and in force against Catholikes and Catholike Religion.

G. H.

16.

The better counsell, which you expected, and held you in suspense, was in all likelihood for the newes of a *Bishopricke*, or a *Deanry*, for the quieting of your perplexed thoughts: and therefore it may be thought, you resolved to goe to *Heidelberg* to doe your duetie there, that so you might procure letters of recommendation; for otherwise I cannot imagine what errand you should haue thither, being scarcely knowen (for any thing I can learne) to the Prince Palatine, or the Princeesse, except it were out of the like gadding humor, as you had of going into *Scotland*, as being publicly imployed, though it had been vpon your owne priuate charge. What his *Maiesties* disposition in the affaires of religion might well bee presumed to bee at his first entrance, if we should iudge by reason, & not by affection, I haue already touched in the 9. Section of this chapter, so far as I presumed it might suffice to content any reasonable man: yet for further satisfaction (because you harpe stil vpon the same string, and presse the same point afresh, I will relate his *Maiesties* own words touching that businesse, as hee vttered them in Parliament, the first day of the first Parliamēt of his *Maiesties* reigne. *As for mine owne profession* (saith he) *you haue me your head now amongst you, of the same Religion that the bodie is of, as I am no stranger to you in Blood, no more am I a stranger to you in Faith, or in the matters concerning the house of God: and although this my profession bee according to my education, wherein I thanke God I sucked the milke of Gods trueth with the milke of my nurse, yet doe I here protest vnto you, that I would neuer for such a conceite of constancie, or other preiudicate opinion, haue so firmly kept my first profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all reason,*

ſon, and to the rule of my conſcience: and againe in the next leaſe, for the part of the Clerickes, I muſt directly ſay and affirme, that as long as they maintaine one ſpeciall point of their doctrine, and another point of their praſtiſe, they are no way ſufferable to remaine in this Kingdome. Their point of Doctrine is, that arrogant and ambitious Supremacie of their head the Pope, wherby he not only claimes to be ſpiritual head of all Chriſtians, but alſo to haue an Imperiall ciuill power ouer all Kings and Emperours, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his foot as pleaſeth him, and diſpenſing and diſpoſing of all Kingdomes and Empires at his appetite. The other point which they obſerue in continuall praſtiſe is, the Aſſaſmates and Murders of Kings, thinking it no ſinne; but rather a matter of ſaluation to doe all actions of rebellion and hoſtilitie againſt their Soueraigne Lord, if he be once curſed, his Subiects diſcharged of their fidelitie, and his Kingdome giuen a prey by that three Crowned Monarch, or rather Monſter their head, and a litle after, hauing wiſhed it would pleaſe God to make him one of the inſtruments for effecting a generall Chriſtian Vnion in Religion, if they would leaue and be aſhamed of ſuch new and groſſe corruptions of theirs, as themſelues cannot maintaine nor denie to be worthy of reformation, he turneth his ſpeech againe to the Papiſts vnder his dominions, willing them to bee admoniſhed, that they preſume not too farre vpon his lenitie, becauſe (ſaith hee) I would be lothe to bee thought a Perſecutor, as therupon to thinke it lawfull for them daily to increaſe their number and ſtrength in this Kingdome, wherby if not in my time, at leaſt in time of my poſteritie, they might bee in hope to erect their Religion againe. No let them aſſure themſelues, that as I am a friend to their perſons, if they bee good Subiects, ſo am I a vowed enemy, and doe denounce moſtall

warres to their errors, and that as I would bee sorie to bee drinen by their ill behauiour from the protection and conseruation of their bodies and liues, so I will neuer cease as farre as I can, to tread downe their errors and wrong opinions: for I could not permit the increase and growing of their Religion, without first betraying of my selfe and mine owne Conscience, secondly, this whole Isle, as well the part I am come from, as the part I remaine in, in betraying their liberties, and reducing them to the former slauiſh yoke, which both had casten off, before I came amongst them: and thirdly the libertie of the Crowne in my posteritie, which I should leaue againe under a new slauerie, hauing found it left free to mee by my Predecessours, and therefore would I wish all good Subiects, that are deceiued with that corruption: First, if they find any beginning of instinction in themselues of knowledge and loue to the Trueth, to foster the same by all lawfull meanes, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them; and if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to bee studious to reade and conferre with learned men, and to vse al such meanes as may further their resolution, assuring themselues (which by the way is worth our obseruation) that as long as they are disconformable in Religion from vs, they cannot be but halfe my Subiects, nor be able to do but halfe seruice, and I to want the best halfe of them, which is their soules. And here I haue occasion to speake to you my Lords the Bishops; for as you my Lord of Durham said very learnedly to day in your Sermon; Correction without instruction is but a tyrannie, so ought you and all the Clergie vnder you to be more carefull, vigilant, and diligent then you haue beene to winne soules to God, as well by your exemplarie life, as doctrine. And since you see how carefull they are, sparing neither labour, paines, nor extreme perill of their persons to diuert (the deuill is so busie

busie a Bishop) you should be the more carefull and wakefull in your charges. Follow the rule prescribed by Saint Paul, Bee carefull to instruct and to exhort, in season and out of season: and where you haue beene any way sluggish before, now waken your selues vp with a new diligence in this point, remitting the successe to God, who calling them at the second, third, tenth, or twelfth houre, as they are alike welcome to him, so shall they be to me his lieutenant here. } Hitherto his Maieſtie. Now would any man of common vnderſtanding (M^r D^r excepted) from hence gather, or thinke it gatherable, that his Maieſtie had a diſpoſition at his entrance to become a Papiſt, or to tolerate the exerciſe of Poperie, or to be reconciled to Rome, or to ſubmit himſelfe and his Realmes to the yoke of the Biſhop thereof? if theſe or the like inferences may from ſo many and plaine words, ſo many and forcible arguments to the contrarie, be deduced, I muſt confeſſe I know not what belongs to Logike: and for other paſſages in the ſame ſpeech, which ſeeme to fauour your cauſe, you muſt either iniuriouſly wreſt them from the authors meaning, or make them by reaſonable conſtruction ſutable to theſe.

Howſoeuer, your ſelfe being a Churchman, and one of thoſe whom he ſharply taxeth, [*for changing their coats through curioſitie, affectation of neweltie, or diſcontentment in their private humours,*] cannot poſſibly be ranked amongſt them [*to whom as to minds only retaining the liquor they firſt dranke in, out of his ſpeciall clemencie he propoſeth more fauourable conditions*] and yet among theſe too, he hath ſince diſcouered an vnaturall diſpoſition, whom he hoped to find by moderate & gentle ſage, in the matter of naturall ſubiectiō, quiet and well minded men,] and therefore no marueile if his Maieſtie be ſincemore exaſperated, and farther off from any reconciliation with that Religion then before. But M^r Caſaubon, you ſay, tolde you that his errand hither was nothing elſe, but to mediate peace betweene the Church of Rome, and the Church of England. It is certainly falſe that M^r Caſaubons errand was by his Maieſtie intended to be ſuch, and moſt vnlikely to be true, that it was by M^r Caſaubon ſo reported

ported to you, considering his direct and expresse writings, both before his comming ouer, and since, against the chiefe Patrons and controuersed points of the Church of *Rome*, and among the rest, in the conclusion of his Epistle to *Cardinall Perron*, where hee assures him from his *Maiesties* mouth, and in his name, [that his constant purpose and full resolution was, as long as the Church of *Rome* yeelded not to antiquity and trueth, to entertaine no society with her at all, which you might haue read before your departure, and spared the paines of writing to *M. Casaubon*, whome that I may yet more fully cleare from this imputation, being not able now to speake for himselve, I will here set downe his Letter, written with his owne hand to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, vpon this very occasion, in which hee termes the report no better then the slander of a wicked Apostate,

Illustrissimo & Reuerendissimo

Præfuli, Domino Cantuariensi, totius
Angliæ Primati, & Domino meo, sum-
ma obseruantia colendo.

Illustrissime Reuerendissime Domine,

HEri quum essem in Aula, ostendit mihi Re-
gia Maiestas librum à Carerio sibi missum,
in quo mira quædam de me narrantur; puto
Serenissimum Regem tue Reuerentie illa ostendisse.
Ego Dei gratia puto me sic vixisse, & priusquam in
hoc regnum venirem, & postquã veni in Angliam, vt
curare non debeam quid perditus apostata de me gar-
riat aut scribat; apparet ipsum grauissimè iratum esse
mihi propter Epistolam quam illi scripsi, vt ab hoc in-
sano

sano conſilio eum reuocarem : propterea id agit ut
meum nomen apud Regiam Maieſtatem & tuam
Reuerentiam infamet. Sed ſpero meliora & de Re-
ge ſapientiſſimo, & de te (Illuſtriſſime) Preſul; apud
quem ſi mihi opus eſſe apologia crederem, omnia omi-
ſſiſſem, ut tue Reuerentia præſens me purgarem. Sed
non puto adeo infœliciter mecum agi, ut infandi apo-
ſtata calumniæ aliquid apud te contra exiſtimatio-
nem meam valeant. Si iuſſeris, ſtatim adero, et ad
omnia tue Reuerentia ſatiſfaciam. Interim quam
ſim occupatus in colophone imponendo operi meo, nar-
rabit tue Reuerentia Vederburnus noſter, verè pius
iuuenis, & tua beneuolentia, Preſul (Illuſtriſſ.) non
indignus. Deus immortalis te ſeruet Eccleſiæ ſuæ.
In Muſæo XIV. Kal. Ian. CIOIOCXIII.

Tuæ Illuſtriſſ. Reuerentiæ
obſervantiſſimus cultor,

ISA. CASAVERONVS.

F

Right

Right Reuerend, & my Gracious Lord,

YEsterday being at Court, the KINGS MAIESTIE shewed mee a booke sent him from *Carier*, wherein certaine strangethings are reported of me. I thinke his MAIESTIE hath shewed them vnto your Grace. I hope I haue by the grace of GOD so liued, both before I came into this Kingdome, and since I came into England, that I ought not to care what a forlorne Apostate prattleth, or writeth of me. It appeares he is very angry with me for a letter I wrote him, to reclaime him from that mad course: thereupon he goes about to traduce me to the KINGS MAIESTY and your Grace. But I hope better both of that most wise KING, and of you most renowned Prelate. Vnto whom if I thought there were need of Apologie, I would, laying all other things aside, in person purge my selfe vnto your Grace. But my case, I trust, is not so vnhappy, that the slanders of a lewd Apostate should be of any force with you against my reputation. If you command, I will forthwith repaire vnto you, and satisfie your Grace vnto the full. In the meane time, how busily I am occupied

occupied about the conclusion of my worke,
my friend *Vederburne*, a very religious yong
man, and not vnworthy of your Graces fauor,
can shew your Grace. God Immortall pre-
serue you vnto his Church. From my study,
Decemb. 19. 1613.

*Your Graces most respectiue
Observer,*

ISA. CASAVBON.

And that it may appeare how auerse hee was from vnion
with that Church, I will hereunto adde a former Letter, writ-
ten likewise to my L. Grace of *Canterbury*, touching the same
businesse before he was thus prouoked by *D. Carrier*, vpon oc-
casion of a Letter written to the same effect from the Doctor
to him.

Illustrissime & Reuerendissime Domine,

Mitto Reuerentiae tuae Epistolam de qua in-
audiuisti. Ego acceptam Epistolam, ut Re-
gi communicaretur, putaui premendam,
neq ostendendam cuiquam mortalium. Non enim
possum probare consilium viri illius eruditi qui epi-
stolam scripsit. Quare respondi illi statim, & multis
cum illo egi, ut ab eo proposito desisteret. Multas ra-
tiones ei attuli cur certo crederem, amentiam esse,

aut potius furorem, boni aliquid sperare à Romano Phalari (nam hoc verbo usus sum) qui nostra mala, si quæ sunt inter nos ridet. Proposui ei ob oculos, quàm essent alieni proceres Romana Ecclesiæ ab omni æquitate: imprimis Bellarminus, de cuius impietate plura ad eum scripsi. Posui illi ante oculos, quanto cum suo periculo patronum Papæ videretur agere. Attuli testimonia Matthæi Paris de summâ Angliæ infelicitate, quando Papæ Ro. paruit. Addidi exemplum illius Narbonensis, qui nuper ad Ser. Regem similis argumenti librum miserat: me iussu à Rege loqui eum librum detestatum esse, & D. Regem voluisse in latere libri animadvertere. Posthæc quid factum sit Carerio. nescio. Hoc ego volui Reuerentiæ tuæ significatum. Sed expectabam donec ad urbem rediisses: nam me libri mei editio domi tenet. Sunt alia quædam graua de quibus acturus sum cum tuâ Reuerentiâ post vnum aut alterum diem, Deo volente. Qui te seruet Illustrissime Domine. Londini, VII. Eid. Sept. CIOIOCXIII.

Tuæ Reuerentiæ
obseruantiss. cultor

IS. CASAVBONVS.

Right

Right Reuerend, & my Gracious Lord,

I Send vnto your Grace the Letter where-
of you haue heard. The Letter was sent
me with intent it should be communicated
vnto the King, but I thought it fitter to bee
suppressed, and to be shewed vnto none. For
I cannot approue the drift of that learned man
who wrote the Letter. Wherefore I answered
him forthwith, and with many words aduised
him to desist from that purpose. I brought
him many reasons why I certainly beleeued,
it was folly, or rather frensie to hope for any
good from the *Romish Phalaris*, (for that very
terme I vsed) who laughs at our euils, if there
be any amongst vs. I laid before his eyes how
auerse the Peeres of the Romish Church are
from all equitie: specially *Bellarmino*, of whose
impiety I wrote at large vnto him. I set before
his eyes with how great danger to himselfe he
seemed to become the *Popes* Patron. I alled-
ged testimonies of *Matthew Paris* of the great
misery of England when it was vnder the
Popes obedience. I added the example of that
Narbonois, who of late sent vnto the Kings
MAIESTY a booke of the like argument:

that being commanded by the KING to say my mind, I professed my detestation thereof, and that it was his MAJESTIES will to haue some animaduersions set in the margent of the booke. After which, what became of *Carier*, I know not. This I thought good to signifie vnto your Grace: but I expected vntill you were returned vnto the Citie: for the publishing of my booke stayes me at home. I haue other weighty matters whereof to aduise with your Grace within this day or two, God willing, who preferue you my gracious Lord. London. Sept. 6. 1613.

*Your Graces most respectiue
Observer,*

ISA. CASAVBON.

B. C.

17.

There is a statute in England made by King Henry the VIII. to make him supream head of the Church in spirituall and Ecclesiasticall causes, which Statute enioynes all the subiects of England, on paine of death, to beleene and to sweare they doe beleene that it is true: and yet all the world knowes, if King Henry the VIII. could haue gotten the Pope to dinorce Queene Katherine, that he might marrie Anne Bullen, that Statute had neuer been made by him: and if that title had not enabled the King to pull downe Abbeys,
and

and religious houses, and give them to Lay men, the Lords and Commons of that time would neuer haue suffered such a Statute to be made. This Statute was continued by Queene Elizabeth to serue her owne turne, and it is confirmed by your Maiestie to satisfie other men, and yet your Maiestie yealdeth the Church of Rome to be the ¹ mother Church; and the Bishop of Rome to bee the chiefe Bishop or ² Primate of all the Westerne Churches: which I doe also verely beleue, and therefore I doe verely thinke he hath, or ought to haue some spirituall iurisdiction in England, and although in mine yonger dayes the ³ fashion of the world made me sweare, as other did, (for which I pray God forgive mee) yet I euer doubted; and I am now resolved, that no ⁴ Christian man can take that oath with a safe conscience, neither will I euer take it to gaine the greatest preferment in the world.

¹ In what sense Rome may bee termed the mother Church, see in mine answer to the 45. Section.

² His Maiestie termeth him the Patriarch, but not the Primate of the West.

³ Where was your great zeale then to sweare against your conscience for fashion? but did you not take it again when you came to yerres of discretion at the taking

of your degrees, at your institution in your Benefices, at your admittance to your Prebendry and Chaplen-ship, and oft recognize the truth of the summe of the said oath in your prayer before euery sermon you made? How then comes it now to passe that you would not take it again to gaine the greatest preferment in the world, but that you were out of hope to get any, or by your owne confession long to enioy it? ⁴ The Bishops in K. Hen. the 8. time thought themselves as good Christians as your selfe, yet they tooke it, or at least made a shew of taking it with a good conscience, besides you call the consciences, or the Christianity of your honest brethren of the Clergy into question, who haue taken the same oath it may be more then once, and yet being good Schollers (as you pretend) they could not be ignorant what offences they incurred in taking it.

G. H.

17.

The Statute, here intended, can be none other, then the Statute 26. of H. VIII. Cap. 1. for that is the first Statute that medleth with the Supremacie; which Statute is, as the Common Lawyers terme it, *Statutum declaratum*, not *introduc-tum noui iuris*: as doth clearely appeare by the Preamble, which hath these words: [*Albeit the Kings Maiestie iustly and rightfully is and ought to bee taken and accepted supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the Clergie in their Conuocation, yet neuerthelesse for corroboration and confirmation thereof, Be it enacted, that the King shall bee taken, and accepted Supreme head, &c.*] So that the Doctor is fowly mistaken to say that there was a Statute made by K. Henry the VIII.

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to make him *Supreme head*: for it was his ancient right that made him so, and it was his Clergie that had acknowledged him to be so, before the making of this *Statute*; nay the very phrase and letter of this Statute it selfe doeth purposely renounce the power of *making*, and assumes onely the authority of confirming.

Whereby it is cleare that *Henrie VIII.* made not a statute to make himselfe *Supreme* in Ecclesiasticall causes, as M^r Doctor affirmeth; but to confirme those Statutes and Rights, which his noble Progenitors as iustly challenged to belong to their Crown, as the Bishops of *Rome* vniustly pretended to be annexed to their Myter. And where he sayes, that the Statute which (according to his vnderstanding made him *Supreme head*) did also enioyne the *Subiect* to beleeue and sweare it to be true, it is manifest, that there is not any mention at all of any oath in that Statute: but it is true indeede, that in the 28. of *Henry VIII. chap. 10.* there is an oath of *Supremacie* ordeined, the refusall whereof by some certaine persons enioyned by that Act to take it, was made high Treason. And herein againe is the Doctor deceiued, nay which is worse seeketh to deceiue others; for onely some certaine persons were bound by that Statute to take the oath, and not all the *Subiects of England*, as he falsely surmiseth. Anno 35. *Henry VIII. cap. 1.* the oath of *Supremacie* ordeined by 28, was repealed, and a new forme of oath prescribed and extended to more persons, but neuer to all in generall. The same Parliament Cap. 3. enioyneth that the stile of *Supreme head* be receiued and vsed, and this was all that was done by *Henry VIII.* in the point of *Supremacie* by way of Statute: So that to say as Master Doctor doth, that all the *Subiects in England* are bound upon paine of death to beleeue the *Supremacie*, is a malicious fiction in two respects: First touching the persons enioyned to take the oath, and lyable to the punishment; and then againe as touching the offence, for that *beliefe* alone, which is a secret inclination of the minde knowne onely to God, the searcher of the heart, and not issuable nor tryable by any Law humane, should be made an offence punishable by death; is in it selfe so absurd,

abſurde, as it cannot but appeare to bee a falſe imputation to charge our Law-makers therewithall. Laſtly, whereas hee ſayes that *Henry the VIII.* would neuer haue made that Statute, if he could haue gotten the Pope to haue diuorced *Queene Katherine* that he might haue married *Anne Bolcine* it is cleare, and all the world may know, that if *King Henry* would haue ioyned with *Francis the French King* in the warre of *Naples* againſt *Charles the Emperour*, the Pope would not haue ſtucke to haue giuen way to that diuorce: for the better procuring of which Combination hee did not onely referre this Matrimoniall cauſe to the hearing, and determining of his Legates; but gaue *Campeius* a ſecret Bull in his boſom, as witneſſeth ¹ *Francis Guicciardin* in the 19th Booke of his *Hiſtorie* (a Catholike in his profeſſion, no man more a reporter of things hee ſawe, no man truer, and a creature of the Popes employed in honourable charges) the Copie of it is to be ſcene in ² *Anti-Sanders*, dated in the yeere 1527. the 17th of *December*, and the fifth yeere of *Clement the ſeuenth* Popedome, wherein hee infringeth the former diſpenſatiō, affirming that [*the King could not continue in ſuch Matrimonie without ſinne*:] whereupon hee decreed that after the declaration of the nullitie of the former marriage, and the Kings abſolution, it ſhould bee lawfull for him to marrie another. This Bull he forbad him to ſhew to any, ſaue onely to the King and *Cardinall Wolfey*, his fellow Commiſſioner in that buſineſſe: and though openly he commanded him to handle the cauſe with all expedition, yet ſecretly hee willed him to protract the time, promiſing that himſelfe would watch an opportunitie to publiſh the Decree: ſo the King and *Queene* were cited to appeare before them in *May* following, at which time after ſome debating of the cauſe, they protracted the ſentence till the beginning of *Auguſt*, and after many delayes, finding that *King Henry* could not by hope of the diuorce bee drawn to ſide with the *French*, the Pope commanded *Campeius* to burne his Bull, and to returne home: whereby it appeares that *King Henry* might eaſily haue had the nullitie of his marriage with *Queene Katherine* ratified at *Rome*, without taking the title of *Supreme head*, if hee would haue

¹ Maſter *Dalington* in his inference vpo *Guicciardines* Degreſſion, Page 3.

² Page 100.

³ Which Diſpenſation was firſt granted contrarie to the opinion of all the Cardinals of *Rome* being *Diuitines*.

Hallann, Hen- 78.

yeelded to the *Papes* conditions. But the *Lords*, you say, and *Commons* would neuer have suffered such a Statute to be made, had not that title inabled the King to pull downe *Abbeys* and *Religious houses* and giue them to *Lay men*. I would faine know then what moued the *Bishops* to giue way to it, who had no share in that diuision, yet had they with the consent of the *Clergie*, passed it in *Conuocation*, before it was so much as proposed in *Parliament*, and for the *Commons* a very little share fell out to their parts. And if the assuming of that title were indeed so needfull (as you pretend) for the suppressing of those houses: by what authoritie did *Cardinall Wolsey* dissolue some, and the King by his example more, before that title was by him publickly assumed?

Now for *Queene Elizabeth*, it is true that she reuined those Statutes of *Supremacie* enacted by her father, and repealed by her sister, but not without diuers exceptions, as may appeare by the bookes; in so much as a new forme of Oath was established by her, which is the Oath at this day in force, the refusal of which vpon a second offering by such as stand convicted of a former refusal, is by the Statute of 3^o *Eliz. cap. 1.* made high Treason, and it is none otherwise. Nay further, by an expresse prouiso in that Statute, none are compellable to take the Oath the second time but *Ecclesiasticall* persons, and some few others, especially named in that Statute, neither doth shee take to her in that or any other Statute the title of *Supreme head*, but of *Gouernour*, by which what shee vnderstood, herselfe expressed in her *Iniunctions*, and her *Clergie* in their 37. Article confirmed⁴ in two seuerall *Conuocations*, where they thus speake, [Where wee attribute to the *Queenes Maiestie* the chiefe *Government*, by which title we vnderstand the mindes of some slanderous folkes to be offended, wee giue not to our Princes the ministring either of Gods word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the *Iniunctions* also lately set forth by *Elizabeth our Queene*, doe most plainly testifie: but that onely prerogative which we see to haue beene giuen alwayes to all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himselfe, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be *Ecclesiasticall*

⁴ In the yeere 1562. and againe in 1571.

clesiasticall or Temporall, and reſtraine with the ciuill ſword, the ſtubburne and euill doers,] neither doe I ſee how *Oſorinus* in his Epistle to her can be interpreted to affoord her leſſe, where he profeſſeth, that all Kings are *Pro parte ſua inris diuini Vicarij*, Vicars of Gods Law in their places.

From *Queene Elizabeth* you paſſe to his Maieslie, and tell him, that he confirmed the ſame Statute to ſatiſſie other men, arguing therein his Maieslie of great weakeneſſe, either as being notable to iudge what he did, or as being caried by others againſt his owne iudgement. But that his MAIESTIE did it aduiſedly, and rather to ſatiſſie himſelfe, then others, appears by this, that hee was inueſted with the ſame power, which that Statute giues him, before his receauing of the Crowne of England, and ſince himſelfe with his owne penne hath thus both iuſtified and explained it [if theſe examples (ſaith he) ſentences, titles and prerogatiues, and innumerable other in the olde and new Teſtament, doe not warrant Chriſtian Kings, within their owne dominions, to gouerne their Church as well as the reſt of their people, in being *Cultodes vtriuſque tabulae*, not by making new Articles of Faith (which is the Popes office as I ſaid beſore) but by commaunding obedience to bee giuen to the word of God, by reforming the Religion according to his preſcribed will, by aſſiſting the Spirituall power with the Temporall ſword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging and cutting off all friuolous queſtions, and Schiſmes (as *Constantine* did) and finally by making decorum to be obſerued in every thing, and eſtabliſhing order to be obſerued in all indifferent things, for that purpoſe, which is the onely intent of the Oath of Supremacie; if this office of a King (I ſay) doe not agree with the power giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man, void of paſſion, iudge.] But yet his Maieslie (you ſay) ſeeldeth the Church of Rome to be the Mother Church, and the Biſhop of Rome to bee the chiefe Biſhop or Primate of the Weſterne Churches. Indeed his Maieslie in his firſt ſpeech in his firſt Parliamente, called after his entrance to this Kingdome, is pleaſed to acknowledge the *Romane Church* to be our Mother Church, this M. Deſcend

5 Apol. for the Oath of allegiance, p. 108.

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is content to vrge, but to conceale that which he addeth, [*defiled with infirmities and corruptions, as the Iewes were when they crucified Christ, and as I am none enemy (saith he) to the life of a sick man, because I would haue his body purged of ill humours; no more am I an enemy to their Church, because I would haue them reforme their errours, not wishing their throwing out of the Temple, but that it might be purged and clenfed from corruption, otherwise how can they wish vs to enter, if their house bee not first made cleane?*] Herein M^r Doctour dealing with his Maiessty, as the deuill did with our Sauour, hee pressed that out of the Psalme which made for himselfe [** Hee will giue his Angels charge ouer thee*] but suppressed that which made against him [*to keepe thee in all thy wayes*] now if any man farther desire his Maiessties meaning in calling Rome the Mother Church, hee hath fully expressed himselfe in his Premonition, [*Patriarchs (saith he) I know were in the time of the Primitiue Church, and I likewise reuerence that institution for orders sake: and amongst them was a contention for the first place. And for my selfe (if that were yet the question) I would with all mine heart giue my consent that the Bishop of Rome should haue the first seat, I being a Westerne King would goe with the Patriarch of the West*] whereby it is cleare that his Maiessties meaning was, and is, to yeeld the Bishop of Rome ouer other Westerne Bishops, (in case they should meet in Councell,) a prioritie in sitting, not a superiority in commanding, a primacy or ⁷ precedency in order, not a supremacie in power, and iurisdiction, it beeing the marke which M^r Doctour driues at, and from thence labours cunningly but maliciously to inferre, contrary to his Maiessties both minde, and words. I conclude this point with a Reuerend ⁸ Prelate, [*His Vicarship to Christ must be proued by stronger and plainer euidence then you haue yet shewed, before wee may grant it, and for his Patriarke ship (saith he) which you now take bold of, by Gods Law he hath none in this Realme, for fixe hundred yeeres after Christ, he had none; for the last fixe hundred (as looking to greater matters) hee would haue none: aboue and against the sword, which God hath ordained; he can haue none, so the sub-*

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* P^sal. 91, 11.

⁷ Such a precedencie hath the Emperour before Christian kings, but no command ouer them.

⁸ B. Bilson part 2 of Christian subiection, p. 237.

uerſion of the faith, and oppreſſion of his brethren: in right reaſon and equity he ſhould haue none, you muſt ſeeke farther for ſubiection to his tribunall, this land oweth him none.

B. C.

18.

There is another ſtatute in England made by *Queene Elizabeth*, and confirmed by your Maieſty, that it is ¹ death for any *Engliſh man* to bee in England, being made a *Prieſt* by authority deriued, or pretended to bee deriued from the ² *Biſhop of Rome*. I cannot beleuee that I am a *Prieſt* at all, unleſſe I be deriued by authority from *Gregory the great*, from whence all the *Biſhops* in England haue their being, if they haue any being at all.

¹ This penalty was not inflicted for taking Orders, but for returning after Orders taken, ſuch a penalty did *Solomon* impoſe and execute vpon *Shimei*, 1. King. 2.

² There is leſſe doubt of the *Episcopall* being of our *Biſhops*, then of thoſe that deriue their being from the *Popes*, in regard of their manifold ſchiſmes, and if it came to ſcanning, the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* hath fairer evidence to ſhew for his right: to that *See*, then the *Biſhop* of *Rome* to the *Popedom*; nay the *Pope* to the *Biſhopricke* of *Rome*.

G. H.

18.

The Statute intended is the 27. of *Eliz. Cap. 2.* which indeed, in the body thereof, hath words founding to that purpoſe; but the ſenſe is maliciously peruerſed, and the inference thereupon; for he that ſhall reade through that Statute, and conſider all the parts, ſhall clearly perceiue, that thereby none other *Prieſts* are intended then *Popiſh Prieſts*, made and ordeined by *Popiſh Biſhops*, and not ſuch as *M^r Doctour* was, made in England by any of our *Biſhops* here: Though perhaps it were true, that our *Biſhops* did deriue their firſt authority from *Gregory* (which we do not yeeld vnto,) conſidering that *Auguſtine* from whom they are pretended to deriue it, was not conſecrated by him, but by *Etherius* *Archbiſhop* of *Arles*, (if wee may beleuee our own *Venerable Bede*) for the title of the Statute is, *An Acte againſt Ieſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and ſuch other*.

ther like disobedient persons, and the preamble of the acte hath these words: [*Whereas diuers persons, called or professed Iesuites, Seminary Priests, and other Priests, which haue beene, and from time to time are made in the parts beyond the Seas, by or according to the order and rites of the Romish Church, haue of late yeeres commen, and bene sent into England, &c.*] So that if according to the rule [*Præfatio est clauis Statuti,*] we shall interpret the body by the title, or preamble, howsoeuer the wordes in the body of the acte bee somewhat generall, yet what Priests are intended by the Law-makers, is euident enough; and except M. Doctour were a Priest according to the Order and Rites of the Romish Church, by shauing, anoynting, and imposition of hands by a Popish Bishop, and that since the first yeere of Queene Elizabeth, he needed not to haue feared the danger of the Law.

B. C.

19.

There is another Statute in like maner made and confirmed, that it is death to bee reconciled by a Catholike Priest to the Church of Rome, I am perswaded that the Church of Rome is our mother Church, and that no man in England can be saued, that continues wilfully out of the visible vnitie of that Church, and therefore I can not chuse, but perswade the people to be reconciled thereunto if possibly they may.

G. H.

19.

This Statute also is either purposely or ignorantly mistaken, and is not distinct from that following, but are both one, namely 23. Eliz. cap. 1. The title of it is, [*An Acte to retaine the Queenes Maiesties Subiects in due obedience*] and the preamble recites that [*whereas diuers ill affected persons haue practised to withdraw the Queenes Subiects from their naturall allegiance.*] the purueiw of the Acte followeth that [*all persons which*
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shall put in practise to absolute, perswade or withdrawe any of the *Queenes* subiects from their naturall obedience to her Maiestie, or to withdraw them for that intent, from the religion established, (and so foorth) shall be traitours, and the person willingly absolute, or withdrawn, as aforesayd, to be likewise a traitour.] so that the withdrawing of the Subiect from their naturall obedience, or for that intent, from the religion established, is the offence made treason, and not simple exhorting to the *Romish* religion, as is alledged: And yet to speake a trueth, I see not how any exhortation to an absolute submission of the vnderstanding and the will to the Bishop of *Romes* Iurisdiction, which now is made the onely essentiall forme of that religion, can well be seuered from such an intent. But *Rome* (you say) is the mother Church, and no man in England can bee saued, that continues wilfully out of the visible unitie of that Church. Where if you terme it the mother Church in that sense that his MAIESTIE doeth, wee imbrace it; but if your meaning bee, that shee is our mother, either in regard that wee receiued the first life, or still should receiue the nourishment of religion from her, wee denie it; our nation being first conuerted to the Christian faith by *Ioseph of Arimathea*, who intombed the Corps of our Saviour, and lieth himselfe interred at *Glastenbury*, together with twelue disciples his assistants, where they first preached the Gospel, as *Gildas* affirmeth in the life of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and *Malmesbury* in the Booke, intituled, *The Antiquitie of Glastenbury*, written to *Henry of Blois*, brother to *King Steuen*, and Abbot of the same place; and it is consented vnto by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, as namely, *M. Cambden*, *Iohn Bale*, *Matthew Parker*, *Polydore Virgil*, and others, grounding themselves vpon the authoritie of the best approued, and most ancient writers: and withall considering our keeping of *Easter*, and other Ceremonies were after the fashion of the *Easterne* Church, and not of the *Westerne*, at the comming of *Austin*. I may very well coniecture that our first conuersion to Christian religion was from the *Iewes*, or *Grecians*, and not from the *Romanes*: so that if *Rome* bee rightly termed our mother Church, it must be in regard of later supplies from *Eleutherius* and

and *Gregory*, not of our first Conuersion: howsoever the holy Citie being now become an harlot, wee haue no more reason to reuerence her as a *mother*: but as a strumpet (till she repent and amend) to shunne all vnion with her.

S. Paul writing to the whole Church of *Rome*, and giuing them their due praile for their deuotion and zeale, and entring at last into the reiectiō of the *Iewes*, for their vnbeliefe he warneth expressly the *Romans* in these words, [** Boast not thy selfe against the branches, and if thou boast thy selfe, thou bearest not the roote, but the roote thee. Thou wilt say, the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in, well: through infidelity they are broken off, and thou standest by faith: be not high minded, but feare. For if God spared not the naturall branches, take heed lest he spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodnesse and senerity of God: toward them which haue fallen, seneritie; but towards thee goodnesse, if thou continue in his goodnesse; otherwise thou also shalt bee cut off.*]

Rom. 11. 18, &c. Now whether the Apostle spake generally to the *Gentiles*, and inclsuely to the *Romanes*, or namely to the *Romanes*, and proportionably to the rest, it is all one to vs, one of the twaine he must needs. *Origen* saith vpon these words of *Paul*, [*I say to you Gentiles.*] Now hee plainly turneth his speech to the *Gentiles*, but chiefly to those of the citie of *Rome* that beleueed *S. Paul*.] speaking then to the *Romanes*, no man may except the *Romans*, and they being included, his admonition to them, if there could bee no danger in them of swaruing from the faith, was vtterly superfluous, and the condition implied ridiculous, and the commination odious, and the reason friuolous. Now that which *S. Paul* there threatned, we find come to passe; so that we cannot, we dare not ioyne hands with her; nay wee are so farre from belecuing, that none can bee saued, that continues out of the visible vnitie of that Church: that on the other side, we constantly belecue, that the means to be saued, is to separate our selues from the vnity of that Church, till she separate her selfe from her errors, specially since in your vnderstanding, the continuing in the visible vnity of that Church, is in a manner nothing else, but the acknowledging of the Bishop of *Rome* to bee the visible head of it: and if none can bee saued without that

that, what shall become of your honest brethren of the English Clergie? whom you professe you are so farre from condemning, as you doe account your selfe one of them? what of so many millions of soules in the Easterne and Western Christian Churches, more in number by many degrees, then those that yet continue in that visible vnitie, and better both in life and beliefe, then those who acknowledge it, or the visible head himselfe of it.

B. C.

20.

There is another Statute in like manner made and confirmed, that it is death to exhort the people of England to Catholike religion, I am perswaded that the religion prescribed and practised by the Church of Rome is the true Catholike religion which I will particularly iustifie from point to point, if God giue time and opportunitie, and therefore I can not choose but perswade the people thereunto.

G. H.

20.

For the Statute here pretended, I haue already answered that it is none other then a branch of the former: And for your promise of *iustifying from point to point the religion prescribed and practised by the Church of Rome*, if it be performed, when wee shall see it published, I doubt not but a Confutation will be found as particular and plaine, and more true, then your Iustification: but in the meane time, I cannot but wonder what you can say more herein then hath often been said by as earnest, and more learned Proctors of that Church then your selfe. Besides, how comes it to passe you should be suddenly expert, and so peremptorily confident in all the controuersed points, except you were resolu'd in most of them before your parting hence: I remember *Duke Humfrey* discovered a notable piece of knauery in a beggar, who pretending blindness

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from his birth, vnderooke to iudge of colours instantly vpon the recovery of his sight; this your vaine offer to iustifie all points in controuersie presently vpon your breathing of outlandish ayre, cannot but giue vs iust occasiō to suspect the like hyopocrisie. Lastly, if the religion prescribed and practised by the Church of *Rome* be in all points the only true religion, why would his holinesse permit the exercise of ours with little, or no alteration, as afterward you beare vs in hand, vpon condition his MAIESTIE, on the other side, would admit of his supremacie, and the Masse.

B. C.

21.

1 He that examines the writings will easily find you wrote without booke.

2 Such a Catholike then as your selfe (the State standing as it doth) can by your owne confession bee no good subiect.

3 As if onely Puritanes were at the making of those Statutes, or they alone make care and conscience of the execution of them.

4 A marueile it is that a man of your age and experience should conceive or affirme that to belong to the office of a

Iustice of Peace, which appertaines to the Iudges or Iustices itinerant,

5 Your hope must needs be grounded vpon a vaine presumption of some strange and sudden alteration in his Maiestie considering his full resolution, and your many infirmities, but your hope is perished with your selfe, and so may all they who entertaine the like.

6 You speake as if the naturall birth of a man gaue him interest in the Saints of heauen, whereas there they put off all carnall affections, and become like vnto the Angels.

cease

It may bee these are not all severall Statutes; some of them may bee members of the same, (for I haue not my bookes about mee to search) but I am sure all of them doe make such felonies and treasons, as were the greatest vertues in the Primitive Church, and such, as I must confesse my selfe I cannot choose, if I live in England, but endeuour to bee guilty of, and then it were easie to finde Puritanes enough to make a iury against me, and there would not want a Iustice of peace to giue sentence, and when they had done, that which is worse then the persecution it selfe, they would all sweare solemnly, that D. Carier was not put to death for Catholike Religion, but for felony and treason, I haue no hope of protection against the cruelty of those lawes, if your Maiesty be resolved vpon no conditions whatsoever, to haue society at all: nor no Communion at all with the Church of Rome; and therefore while the case so stands, I dare not returne home againe. But I cannot be altogether out of hope of better newes before I die, as long as I doe beleue that the Saints in heauen doe reioyce at the conversion of a sinner to Christ, and doe know that your Maiesty by your birth hath so great an interest in the Saints in heauen, as you shall neuer

cease to haue, vntill you cease to be the sonne of such a mother, as would reioyce more then all the rest, for your ⁷ conuersion, and therefore I assure my selfe that shee with all the rest doe pray, that your Maiesty before you die, may bee militant in the Communion of that Church, wherein they are ⁸ triumphant. And in this hope I am gone before to ioine my prayers with theirs, in the vnitie of the Catholike Church, and doe humbly pray your Maiesty ⁹ to pardon me for doing that which was not in my power to auoide, and to giue me leaue to liue, where I hope shortly to die, vnlesse I may hope to do your Maiestie ¹⁰ seruice, and without the preiudice of any ¹¹ honest man in England, to see some vnitie betwixt the Church of England and her mother the Church of Rome. And now hauing declared the meanes of my conuersion to Catholike religion, I will briefly also shew vnto you the hopes I haue to doe your Maiesty no ill seruice therein.

⁷ The Saints of heauen haue no knowledge of the particular conuersion of a sinner, by any ordinary intuition, but by reuelation extraordinary.

⁸ Many Saints no doubt are triumphant, which were neuer militant in that Church, which acknowledgeth the Pope her head.

⁹ Where no offence is committed, there needs no pardon to be

either demanded or granted. ¹⁰ The seruice you intended, was nothing els but a plotting with the Pope and his Factours, how you might betray the liberty of your Countrey, and submit your Soueraignes neck to the yoke of his seruice. ¹¹ Vnlesse the Church of Rome draw neerer to vs, then hitherto shee hath made shew of, it cannot bee, but with the preiudice of all the honest men in England, and honesty it selfe, that a neerer vnion betwixt her and the Church of England should be concluded, then already there is.

G. H.

21.

It is true indeed that those *Statutes* which you alledge are not seuerall in themselues, but members of the same. And it appeares well, though you had not professed it, that at the writing hereof you had not your bookes about you, you affirme things vncertaine so confidently, and things certaine so falsly: But you are sure (you say) they make such felonies and treasons, as were the greatest vertues of the *Primitiue Church*: whereas wee are more sure, that the greatest vertues and fattest sacrifices, and shortest cut to heauen (as they are now esteemed in the Church of Rome) were in the *Primitiue Church* held none other, but murders, and parricides, and felonies, and treasons [Thou dost promise (saith ¹ Augustine to Patilian) that thou wilt reckon many of the Emperours and iudges, which by persecuting

¹ Contra Iherem. Patil. 2. c. 92.

H 2

yon,

you, perished, and concealing the Emperours, thou meanest two iudges or deputies, why didst thou not name the Emperours of thy Communion? wert thou afraid to bee accused as guilty of treason? where is your courage, which feare not to kill your selves? To say the Emperours perished for persecuting, was treason in his time: in our age you thinke it much, that reproching of Princes as tyrants and heretiques, and aiding the Pope with your perswasions, absolutions, and rebellions to take their Crownes from them, should be punished, or adiudged treason, howbeit a certaine trueth it is, that there is no conspiracie so pernicious, and dangerous to the state, as that which is whispered into mens eares, and conueyed into their hearts vpon a sence of deuotion, and outwardly couered with a shew of religion, notwithstanding as true it is that in *England* none are put to death for Catholike religion, no nor for the Romish, which you call Catholike, as hath beene at large iustified in a booke, written by a^r Peere of the Realme, intituled, *the defence of the iustice of England*, and is verified by his Maiessty in his *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* in the very entrance of his answer to the Popes first Breue, where he not onely cleareth himselfe at large from this imputation, but the late *Queene*, that blessed defunct Lady (as he there calleth her) [in whose proceedings (saith he) who list to compare with an indifferent eye the manifold intended inuasions against her whole kingdome, the forreine practises, the internall publike rebellions, the priuate plots, and machinations, poysonings, murders, and all sorts of deuises, dayly set abroad, and all these wares continually fostered and fomented from Rome, together with the continuall corrupting of her Subjects, as well by temporall bribes, as by faire and spacious promises of eternall felicitie, and nothing but booke vpon booke, publickly set forth by her fugitiues for approbation of so holy designs; who list (I say) with an indifferent eye to looke on the one part vpon these infinite and intollerable temptations, and on the other part vpon the iust, yet moderate punishment of a part of these hainous offenders, shall easily see that that blessed defunct Lady was as free from persecution, as they shall free these hellish instruments from the honour of Martyrdome] And againe his Maiessty maintaineth the same in

a This Booke was written by my L. Burleigh, L. Treasourer, wherein hee proues, that no Romish Catholikes were then executed, but for iustifying the Bul of Pius V. which Card. Allen replied vnto, but so weakely, as the trueth is thereby strengthened.

in his Premonitions to Christian Princes, not farre from the conclusion: [As for the cause of their punishment, sayth he, (speaking of Romish Catholikes) I doe constantly maintaine that which I haue said in my Apologie, that no man either in my time, or the late *Queenes*, euer dyed here for his Conscience: for let him be neuer so deuout a Papist, nay though he professe the same neuer so constantly; his life is in no danger by the Law, if he breake not out into some outward act expressely against the words of the Law, or, plot some unlawfull or dangerous practise or attempt: (Priests and Popish Churchmen onely excepted) that receiue orders beyond the Seas; who for the manifold treasonable practises that they haue kindled and plotted in this countrey are discharged to come home againe under paine of Treason after their receauing of the sayd orders abroad; and yet without some other guilt in them then their bare home comming, haue none of them bene euer put to death.] Hitherto his Maiestie. ¶ Whereas on the other side wee iustly complaine that they execute our professours, though strangers, for Religion, and only for Religion, and in that most bloodie and barbarous manner, specially where the *Inquisition* is in force, that whore of *Babylon* being drunke, and yet not filled with the blood of the Saints: And whereas you impute cruelty to our *Lanes*, what tragicall cruelties were exercised in *Queene Maries* dayes, euen vpon women and children? nay, which is most odious and vnnaturall vpon women great with childe, I pray, God as well forget, as some yet alieue well remember, Now as you holde and handle our Martyrs worse then Traytors. So your most notorious Traytors must stand registered in the Calender of Martyrs.

Not many dayes before *Garnet* suffered, there came to visite him at his lodging in the Tower, certaine choise Diuines, amongst whome the chiefe were, My Lordes the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, of *Lincolne*, and *Leichfield*; as now they are; among other questions one of them proposed this; Whether if the Church of *Rome*, after his execution, should declare him a Martyr, hee did approoue thereof, hee deeply sighing, and shrinking vp his shoulders, made this answer. [Me a Martyr? O what a Martyr! but the Church will neuer doe it, and I

H 3

pray

3 This same point is againe confirmed by his Maiesty in his booke *De droit des Roies*. Page 113.

pray God it be neuer so much as thought vpon: Indeed if I had dyed for the Catholike Religion, and (vnhappie man!) had beene acquainted with nothing else, but that which was reuealed mee in Confession, I might perhaps seeme not vnworthy the honor of Martyrdome, and merite the iudgement of the Church: but now as the case stands, I must acknowledge my fault, and confesse the sentence of death pronounced against me: most iust; Then againe doubling and trebling his sighes, and shewing tokens of vnfained sorrow, I would to God (sayeth he) what is done, might be vndone, I could wish that any other chance had befallen me, rather then my name should thus be stained with the blot of Treason, which offence, though most grieuous, yet I distrust not; but it may be washed away with the teares of repentance, and that Christ will haue mercie on me. Sure I am, that if I had all the world in my power to bestow, I would willingly giue all, that I might be freed from the guilt and imputation of treason, which lies heauie vpon my conscience, & shall stand recorded in the sentence of my condemnation.] Notwithstanding all this, is hee recorded a Martyr, apologized by Eudemon, and by Delrio paralleled with Denis the Arcopagite. What would M^r Doctour say to this now? had wee not some reason here to sweare, that Garnet was not put to death for Religion, but for Treason?

The like might bee verified of Campian, who in the yeere 1580. came couertly into England, in the company of Robert Parsons, with a Facultie obtained of Gregorie the XIII. conceiued in these very words.

Petatur à summo Domino nostro explicatio Bulle declaratorie per Pium Quintum contra ELIZABETHAM, & ei adherentes; Quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, vt obliget semper illam, & hæreticos; Catholicos verò nullo modo, rebus sic stantibus sed tum demum quando publica eiusdem Bulle executio fieri poterit. Has prædictas Gratiâ concessit summus Põtifex Patri Roberto Parsonio, & Edmundo Campiano

piano in Angliam profecturis die 14. Aprilis 1580. presente Patre Oliuero Manacro, Assistente.

Let Petition bee made to our highest Lord that some explication be made of the declaratorie Bull of *Pius Quintus* against *ELIZABETH* and her adherents, which the Catholikes desire so to be vnderstood, that it may bind her, and heretikes, but Catholikes by no meanes, as the case now stands, but then onely, *when the said Bull may publicly be put in execution.* These Faculties the *Highest Bishop* granted to *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian*, being bound for *England*, the 14. of April 1580, in the presence of *Oliuer Manacar*, Assistant.

Here againe I would demaund of M^r. D^r, how many of the *Romish* profession are ready to sweare solemnely (as the olde *Romans* did in the Deifying of their Emperours) that hee is now a Saint, and that hee died a glorious Martyr, not for treason but for religion? But were not *Harte*, and *Horton*, *Rishon*, and *Bosgraue* of the same religion, Priests by their order, and some of the same societie, and yet died not for it? Are there not at this present diuers Seminary Priests at *Wishich*, and *Baldwin* the famous Iesuite in the *Tower*? Certainly if there bee any fault in their vsage, it is, that they find too much mercie, their mercilesse disposition toward vs hauing so lately, so fully, and so often been tried. I will conclude this point with a case of conscience wherwith your *Romish* Priests were to arme themselves & their disciples in the reigne of *Q. ELIZABETH*, in case they should be apprehended, and examined to the 55. Article, when the question is demaunded, *Whether notwithstanding the Bullof Pius the 5th, that was giuen out, or any Bull that the Bishop*
of

of Rome can hereafter giue forth, all Catholikes bee bound to yeeld obedience, faith and loyaltie to *Queene ELIZABETH*, as to their lawfull Prince and Soueraigne, this resolution is framed: *Qui hoc modo interrogat, illud quatit; An id potuerit S. Pontifex facere, cui quaestioni quid debeat Catholicus respondere clarius est, quam ut à me hic explicetur: si rogatur ergo Catholicus, Credis Romanum pontificem ELIZABETHAM potuisse exanthorare? respondit, non obstante quouis metu mortis, credo, questio enim haec ad fidem spectat, & exigit confessionem fidei.*

Hee that demandeth this question, asketh in effect, *Whether the Pope might doe it or no? to the which demaund, what a Catholike ought to answer, it is plainer, then neede here be further expressed; if therefore a Catholike bee asked, Doe you beleene the Bishop of Rome may depriue Queene ELIZABETH of her Crowne? hee must answer, not regarding any danger of death, I beleene hee may, for this question is a point of faith, and requireth the profession of our faith.*

If any such Cabale (onely the names changed) runne yet as current among such as bee reconciled to the Church of Rome at this day (as I know nothing to the contrary, but it may) if M^r. D^r. had returned, & vpon his returne, endeuoured to haue framed his Profelites to those, or the like conditions, he might iustly haue suffred for it, without any asperision, either of persecution vpon his *Maiesties* gouernement, or cruelty vpon his Lawes, howsoeuer it hath been discouered by the ⁴Misshues of of some such reconcilers sent to their Generall, that [*for so many as they haue reconciled, they dare sweare, vpon what occasion soeuer may fall out, they will bee ready to side with them;*] and for such, for mine owne part, I dare not sweare, being conuicted and sentenced, *that they die for religion*: But yet I commend M^r. Doctors witte about the zeale hee boasteth of, that hee thought it fitter to stay there and dispute the matter with his pen, then by comming ouer, and practising put his person in hazzard. And herein (asthrough his whole discourse) hee playes the Polititian, chusing rather to sleepe in a whole skin, then to resist vnto blood, and to indanger his body for the gaining of soules.

⁴ Ego intra proximum (crimifstro vel simifstre) ius (puta quinqu vel sex) reconciliani, pro quibus spondere ausim quod quacunque occasio inciderit a partenastra futuri sint omnes, Tort. Torti 138.



CHAP. II.

The hopes I haue to doe your MAIESTIE no
ill seruice in being Catholike.

B. C.

^{I.}
M^I first hope is, that your Maiesty will accept of that
for the best ^A seruice I can doe you, which doth most
further the glory of our blessed Saviour, and mine
owne saluation. ^B Indeed there are kingdomes in
the world, where the chiefe care of the governour
is, non quàm bonis præsit, sed quàm subditis. Such were the
heathen kingdomes, which S. Augustine describes in 2. de Ciui-
tate Dei, Cap. 20. In such Common wealths the way to be ¹ a good
Subiect, is not to be a good man, but to serue the times and turnes of
them that beare the sway, whatsoeuer they are. ^C But if it be true,
that (as ² some holy and learned Fathers teach) in a well ordered
gouernment there is eadem felicitas vnius hominis, ac totius ci-
uitatis, then I am sure it must needes follow, that in a Common-
wealth truly Christian, there is eadem virtus boni viri, ac boni
ciuis. And therefore being a Minister and Preacher of England,
if I will rather serue your Maiesty then my selfe, and rather pro-
cure the good of your kingdome, then mine owne preferment, I am
bound in duety to respect and seeke for those things aboue all other,
that may aduance the honour of God, and the saluation of my owne
soule, and the soules of those which do any way belong to my charge.

¹ I suppose
your meaning
is to be account-
ed so.

² I haue not
met with any
that teacheth it
but holy Father
Aristotle, in the
entrance of his
Politiques.

3 That which you call the malice of the times was the iust censure of your superiours procured by your own malice against the truth.

4 What seruice could you do by dying, but by removing a dangerous instrument.

5 So then you seeme to confesse that for religion you were of the same mind long before you went hence, as since you haue declared your selfe, which notwithstanding in diuers other places you contradict.

And being sufficiently resolved that nothing can more aduance the honour of our Saviour, and the common saluation, then to be in the vnitie of his Church, I haue done you the best seruice I could at home, by preaching peace and reconciliation; and being not able for the malice of the times to stand any longer in the breach at home, I thinke it safest in this last cast, to looke to mine owne game, & by my dayly prayers and 4 dying to do your Maiesty the same seruice in the vnitie of the Church, 5 which by my dayly preaching and lining, I endeououred to doe in the midst of schisme.

G. H.

I.

A In furthering the glory of God, you shall doe others as much, and in saving your owne soule, your selfe more seruice, then his Maiesty: but if you pretend both, and in the end performe neither, it is the worst piece of seruice you can doe.

B I suppose there is no gouernour in the world (who deserves that name) but that a chiefe part of his care is, to make his subiects at leastwise morally good, that so he may find them the more obedient, and some of those very heathen kingdoms, which S. Augustine describes in his bookes of the city of God, specially that of the Romanes, yeelded more rare examples of morall goodnesse, namely of iustice and temperance, then it doth at this day, though it professe Christi. And for the seruing of the times and turnes of those that beare the sway, I doubt not but as many may be found in those kingdomes which you call Catholike, who are as able and willing to doe it for their owne aduantage, as amongst the heathen themselves.

C It is true that the happinesse of the whole State extends to euery particular member of the same, in as much as they all belong to the same body: but that the happinesse of euery particular member, should reach to the whole body of the State, is not alike certaine. But to grant both, I must confesse my dulnesse,
I con-

I conceiue not how from thence it followes, that the vertue of a good man and a good citizen is alwayes and neceſſarily the ſame. Once I am ſure that¹ Aristotle who defends the one denies the other, &² Bodin both a Christian, & a Catholike of your owne, in my iudgement truly obſerues, [*that the beſt men for the moſt part are the worſt Stateſmen, in as much as being caried vpo to heauen by contemplation, they ſhunne ſocietie, and ſeek out deſerts and ſolitary places for their abode.*] And I would faine know of your Monkes, and Friars, and Hermites, and Anchorites, who preſume by their vertue and goodneſſe, not onely to merite for themſelues, but to ſupererogate for others, what good they doe as members for the Common wealth, but onely by meanes of that imaginary Supererogation, which is no leſſe hard for a wiſe man to beleue, then for a good to performe. But to let paſſe the examination of the trueth of both thoſe poſitions, and the dependance of the later vpon the former, your inference thereupon to iuſtifie your ſelfe and your owne proceedings, is both in it ſelfe more vntrue, and in regard of the premiſes more looſe and inconſequent; in as much as by leauing your ſtation, and betaking your ſelfe vnto, and conſulting with the enemies of his Maieſty and the State, for the ruine and deſtruction of both, (which you maſke vnder the glorious titles of honour of our Saniour, common ſaluation, vniſity, peace, reconciliation, ſeruiſe to his Maieſty, good of his kingdome,) you neither performe the part of a good Common wealths man, nor yet of an honeſt man, & conſequentially indanger (as farre as in you lieth) not onely the happineſſe of the State in which you liued, & Church in which you were baptized, but of your owne together with them: but aboue all a marueile it is, that acknowledging your ſelfe a member of the Church of Rome, you notwithstanding ſtill profeſſe your ſelfe a Miniſter of the Church of England, ſince your common opinion of vs is, that amongſt vs there is no lawfull calling to the Miniſtery, no ſucceſſion or conſerring of holy Orders, no Ephod, no Teraphim, but that our Miniſters are in the ſtate of Lay-men and none other. Of this cunning dealing, I can conceiue none other reaſon, but that you may with more eaſe, and leaſt ſuſpition, conuey your poyſon into the readers minde.

¹ Pol. lib. 3. cap. 3.² In methodo biſpo. ut apparet in rudibus ex purgatorio.

B. C.

2.

¹ That is, you haue put off a Diuine to put on a Statesman, but the prouerbe is, *Monachus in aula, piscu in arido*, and your owne saying is, that false Religion is but a policie for the temporal seruice of Princes.

² What securitie did it procure to *Henry the*

IIII. and the *7. Emperours*, or to *Chilperike, Phil. lebel, Lewi the XII.* or the *3. last Hen.* of *France*, and if there be no securitie, but in that religion, what religion is that, which will admit of no secularity in any but it selfe?

³ They were advanced by the grace of God, and their owne right, not by the *Roman Religion*, which in a manner is all one with the Bishop of *Romes* authoritie, by which Histories recorde how king *Iohn* and diuers other his Maiesties predecessours as well of *England* as *France*, and *Scotland* haue bene advanced and protected. ⁴ Why then, if the *Roman Religion* had remained amongst vs, should they still haue bene prayed for, as if they had remained in *Purgatorie*.

And although it be sufficient for a man of my profession to respect onely matters of heauen, and of another world: yet because this world was made for that other, ¹ I haue not regarded mine owne estate, that I might respect your Maiesties therein: And after long and serious meditation what religion might most honour your Maiestie euen in this world, I haue conceived vndoubted hope, that there is no other Religion that can procure true honour and ² securitie to your Maiestie, and your posteritie in this world, but the true Catholike Roman Religion, which was the very same, whereby all your glorious Predecessours haue bene ³ advanced and protected on earth, and are cuerlastingly blessed in ⁴ heauen.

G. H.

2.

The deuill howbeit he be rather a Polititian, then of any other profession, yet when he came to tempt our LORD tooke vpon him the habite of a Diuine: but you in tempting the LORDS annointed, lay aside the habite of a Diuine, and wholly take vpon you the person of a Polititian: But herein if I should tell you, you played *Phormioes* part before *Hannibal*, you would thinke your deepe Policie much impeached, Now as you differ from the Deuill in that he turned himselfe in appearance into an Angel of light, being indeede a Spirit of darkenesse, but you being an Angel in profession, turne your selfe into a tempter: so in this you both agree, as if you had learned your methode from him, and propofed him as your patterne,

patterne, that as hee being beaten from Scripture, betooke himselfe (as being his last refuge) to the shewing of the kingdomes of the world, and the glorie of them to our Saviour, promising him all, if hee would but fall downe and worship; so you perceiuing belike all other arguments to bee spent in vaine, at length you purpose to try what vse may bee made of the deuils last moriue, by promising his *Maiestie* all worldly honour and securitie for himselfe and his posteritie, if he would but fall downe and worship your Lord the *Pope*: but as the deuil promised that which was none of his to giue; so doth your Lord too, in the disposing of those kingdoms, and the glory of them which no way belong vnto him, except it bee by the title of being heire apparent to the god of this world, and the prince that ruleth in the aire: but were it not for feare of interrupting of your deepe and serious meditations, I should make bold to put you to the question, whether these were the baits that Saint *Peter* angled with to catch soules, or the weapons that Saint *Paul* fought with when he professed, that they were not carnall, but mightie through God to cast downe holdes: they proposed not honour and securitie to the disciples of *CHRIST*, but hazard and basenesse.

I insist the longer vpon this argument because the whole following discourse is stuffed with nothing else but reasons of this nature, as if in the profession of Religion, not the sinceritie and truth of it were so much to be regarded, as those secular and temporall commodities which sometimes attend it, as the shadow doth the bodie. His *Maiesties* owne words to his sonne of fresh & blessed memorie touching this point are most remarkeable, worthy to be written in letters of gold, and to be ingrauen in a pillar of brasse or marble. [*If (sayeth he) my conscience had not resolued mee; that all my Religion presently professed by mee and my Kingdomes; was grounded vpon the plaine words of the Scripture, without the which all points of Religion are superfluous, as any thing contray to the same is abomination, I had neuer outwardly avowed it for pleasure or awe of any flesh.*]

I take his meaning to be either for loue, or feare of any mortal man, or rather for any worldly and fleshly consideration,

whether it were to gaine and make aduantage by entertaining and embracing it, or to loose and suffer disaduantage by rejecting and opposing the contrary.

I speake not this as if (by Gods grace) as much and more, both *honour* and *securitie* did not waite vpon our Religion as vpon the *Romish*, but onely to shew that these are no sufficient inducements to draw so much as a priuate man, much lesse to mooue the diuine and noble spirit of a Christian prince, (specially such a prince as hath often shewed himselfe able to iudge of reasons of a higher straine) to the accepting of a new beliefe, and another forme in the seruice of God, but only the plaine demonstration and cleare euidence of the truth of that beliefe and necessitie of that forme.

B. C.

¹ All this must be vnderstood of the Church of Rome, which first curseth, and then by all meanes laboureth to confound such as oppose against her, imputing her owne deuillish plots to Gods working.

^{3.} *The first reason of my hope is, the promise of God himselfe to blesse and honour those that blesse¹ his Church, and honour him, and to curse and confound those that curse his Church and dishonour him; which hee hath made good in all ages. There was neuer any man, or Citie, or State, or Empire so preserved and aduanced, as they that haue preserved the vnitie and aduanced the prosperitie of the Church of Christ, nor any been made more miserable and inglorious then they that haue dishonoured Christ, and make hauocke of his Church by Schisme and heresie.*

G. H.

^{3.} To grant that which you assume, *that the Church of Rome is the onely true Church*; this argument drawn from *temporall blessings* is sometimes false, vncertaine alwayes: and your assertion, *that neuer any man, or Citie, or State was preserved & aduanced, as they that haue preserved the vnitie, and aduanced the prosperitie of the Church of Christ*, is very broad and too large, confide-

considering it extends euen to *Solomon* himselfe, who though hee aduanced the Church, yet can it not properly bee said that hee aduanced the Church of Christ, nay out of the Church who were euer more prosperous & succesfull in their affaires, then *Augustus* and *Traian*? Of the former of whom it is said, that he found *Rome* of Bricke, and left it of Marble: of the latter that hee raised the *Romane* Empire to the highest pitch of glory, and spread the power of their Command vnto the farthest borders, and largest circuit that euer before or since hath by them been possessed: for the kingdome of *Dacia* hee subdued, *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Mesopotamia* made subiect, *Assyria*, *Persia* and *Babylon* conquered, passed *Tygris*, and stretched the confines of the *Romane* Empire vnto the remotest dominions of the *Indies*, which neuer before that time had seene the *Romane* Banners, or so much as heard of their name; besides his morall vertues were such, that in the choyce of a new Emperour, they euer wished for one more happie then *Augustus*, better then *Traian*: and yet this man with whom for outward prosperitie no *Christian* Emperour can bee balanced, was not only out of the Church, but an enemie to it, & raised against it the third, and one of the hottest persecutions of the tenne. For further prooffe hereof, I referre the reader for this point to *S. Augustines* first 10. bookes of the *Citie of God*, and surely he that shal duely consider the flourishing greatnesse of the *Assyrian* and *Grecian*, but especially the *Romane Monarchy*, will easily discover the lightnesse of this reason, and the vanitie of the assertion. I speake not to detract from the *Christian* and truly *Catholike* religion, euen in regard of outward blessings, but onely to proue that God bestowes them sometimes vpon the good, thereby to shew that absolutely and in themselues they are not bad: sometimes againe vpon the bad, to shew that in themselues they are not good, and takes them sometimes from both, to shew that in their owne nature they are indifferent.

1 See Lipsius his
admiranda or de
magnitudine Ro-
mani Imp.

B. C.

4.

If I had leasure, and bookes, it were easie for mee to enlarge this point with a long enumeration of particulars: but I thinke it needlesse, because I cannot call to mind any example to the contrarie, except it be the State of *Queene Elizabeth*, or some one or two others lately fallen from the ¹ unitie of the Catholike Church, or the State of the great Turke, that doth still persecute the Church of Christ, and yet continues in great glory in this world: but when I consider of *Queene Elizabeth*, I find in her many singularities; she was a woman, and a ² mayden *Queene*, which gave her many advantages of admiration, she was the last of her Race, and needed not care what became of the world after her dayes were ended: she came upon the ³ remainders of deuotion and Catholike religion, which like a Bowle in his cōwse, or an Arrow in his flight, would goe on for a while by the force of the first mōouer, and shee had a practise of ⁴ maintaining warres among her neighbours, which became a woman well, that she might be quiet at home, and whatsoeuer prosperitie or honour there was in her dayes, or is yet remaining in England, I can not but ascribe it to the Church of Rome, and to Catholike religion, which was for many hundred yeeres together the first mōouer of that gouernment, and it is still in euery settled kingdome, and hath left the steppes and shadow thereof behinde it, which in all likelihood cannot continue many yeeres without a new ⁵ supplie from the fountaine.

¹ It is rather Rome that is fallen from the unitie of Christs Church.

² You are somewhat more fauorable to her herein, then *Bocinus* in his 13. booke and

³ chapter of the signes of the Church; *Terentia postimpradicatur ex illicito coitu, ac propterea, sicut incommittit Anglia publicis decretum ut illi defuncta in regno possent succedere ex huiusmodi concubinato nati.* A most malicious lie.

⁴ She came vpon the religion professed and established in her sisters reigne, which you call remainders of deuotion, and wee

denie it not: but how comes it to passe that her sister was so vnfortunate, if she onely comming vpon her remainders made *Elizabeth* so happy? ⁴ That which you call maintaining of warre amongst her neighbours, his Maiestie in her ensuing Epitaph termes the relieuing of *France*, and supporting the *Netherlands*: hee might iustly haue called it the setting vp of a iust King in his owne kingdome, and the freeing of a free Estate from the vniust usurpation of a forreine power.

⁵ For feare of falling, wee are yeerely supplied with a new Mission of shauelings from the fountaine: but sure I am perswaded if this current were stopped, our peace and prosperitie would be both more honourable and certaine then it is.

G. H.

G. H.

4.

Why you ſhould ioine *Queene Elizabeth* with the great *Turke*, I ſee no reaſon, but onely for the iuſtifying of *Rainolds* his booke of *Caluino Turciſme*. Otherwiſe a marueile it is that you would inſtance in her happineſſe, whom the Pope in his Brieffe declared *amiſerable woman*, and yet her gouernement was not more happie, then her ſiſters (who notwithstanding ſhee ſubmitted her necke to the Romane yoke) was vnfortunate, howbeit in her owne diſpoſition, ſhe is reported to haue been a gracious and vertuous Lady, inſtance may bee brought in the bringing in of a forreiner, the frustrating of the great hope of her conception, her ſhort and bloody reigne, extraordinary dearths, and hurts by thunder, and fire, and laſtly the loſſe of *Calis*, the laſt footing wee had in *France*, being held by her predeceſſors the ſpace of about 250 yeeres : whereas *Queené Elizabeth* oppugned and accuſed from her very Cradle by the Church of *Rome*, their thunderbolts returned vpon their owne heads, and her ſelfe like a tender plant after a thunder ſhower prospered the more, and being no leſſe full of honour then dayes, ſhe was gathered to her fathers as a ripe ſheafe of corne that is carried into the barne, in ſo much that her Succellour our moſt renowned SOVERAIGNE, in admiration of her ſingular vertues and excellencies, erected to her euerlaſting memorie a princely Monument in the magnificent Chappell of her grandfather *Henry* the ſeuenth, inſcribed with this enſuing Epitaph of her greatneſſe.

Sacred vnto memorie

Religion to its primitiue ſyncerity reſtored,
Peace throughly ſetled, Coine to the true value refined,
Rebellion at home extinguished,
France neere ruine by intestine miſchiefes relieued,
Netherland ſupported, *Spaines* Armado

K

van-

vanquished, *Ireland* with *Spaniards* expulsion and traitors coercion quieted, both *Vniuersities* Reuenues by a law of prouision exceedingly augmented, finally all *England* enriched, and xlv. yeeres most prudently gouerned, ELIZABETH, a Queene, a Conqueresse, a Triumpher, the most deuoted to pietie, the most happie after lxx. yeeres of her life, quietly by death departing, hath left here in this most famous Collegiate Church, (which by her was established and refounded) these remaines of her mortality, vntil at Christs call they shall againe rise immortall.

Shee died the xxiiij. of March, the yeere of Saluation MDCII. of her reigne xlv. of her age lxx.

For an eternall memoriall.

Vnto ELIZABETH, Queene of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, daughter of King *Henrie* the VIII, grandchild to K. *Hen.* the VII, great grandchild to K. *Ed.* the III, the mother of this her Countrey, the Nurse of Religion and Learning, for perfect skill of very many languages, for glorious endowments, as well of minde as body, and for regall vertues beyond her Sex.

A Prince incomparable,

JAMES

JAMES of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, inheritor both of her Vertues and Kingdomes, to her so well deseruing, piously hath this erected.

Which I haue the rather set downe at large, aswel for the reuerence I bare her memorie (in whose reigne it is not the least part of my comfort that I was borne and baptized) as to commend to posteritie his *Maiesties* Royall disposition, in giuing her right so farre, as were it not authorized by his princely testimonie, future ages would thinke it fabulous, but specially to shew that hee ascribeth all her honour and prosperitie, *not to the Church of Rome*, as Mr. Doctor doth, or to the religion by him called *Catholike*, but to her deuotion and pietie, and the restoring of religion to its primitiue syncerity: For with it as shee made the entrance of her reigne, so doth hee of her Epitaph, both esteeming it as the head spring from whence all that ensuing happinesse did flow and was deriued; neither can it in mine vnderstanding bee otherwise ascribed to *Rome*, then in granting that the reputation and renowne which shee wanne was in part gained and much increased by escaping (through Gods especiall prouidence euer watchfull ouer her) the manifold treasons, and frustrating the barbarous attempts that were hatched at *Rome*, and to bee acted by *Romish* vassals, as well against her person as estate: which made her greatest enemies confesse [*the finger of God is heere*] and surely had not *Rome* endeauoured by might and maine to quench and eclipse her light; witnesse the *Bull* of *Clement* the 7th, while shee was yet in her mothers wombe, and afterward of *Pius* and *Sixtus*, and *Cardinall Comoes* letter to *Parrie*, and *Cardinall Allens* booke to the Nobilitie of *England* in the yeere 1588. I am clearly of opinion the beames of her honour had not shined so clearly and gloriously to the world, as they did. Lastly, those singularities which you bring of being a woman, a maiden *Queene*, and the last of her Race, they were indeed aduantages of admiration: but such in my iudgement, as rather shew that

shee was blessed from heauen, then by any earthly meanes, in as much as liuing and dying both without the helpe of an husband, and hope of an heire from her owne body, she notwithstanding proiected and effected so great matters, and so much good to the State she gouerned.

B. C.

5.

¹ That is, as far as the drift of your reason proposed in the 2. and 3. Section of this Chapter.

² To conferre is not properly by a bare permission, but by donation.

³ Kingdomes may be bestowed vpon wicked men for many other reasons besides the finnes of the people: as to be a scourge to other States, or for some other temporall seruice which either their predecessors had done or themselves might doe; or lastly as S. Ierome notes, God thereby inuities them by his bounty that themselves should be converted from their owne sins.

See T. Fitzherbert.

of this point in his treatise of Policie and Religion, part. 1. ca. 17. ⁴ His ordinary garde in Constantinople, and there about, are but 24 thousand, and though many of them be taken from the breasts of their Christian mothers, yet is it not the greatest part as you auouch. ⁵ Their facilitie in admitting other religions as well as their owne to hope of Saluation, should in reason rather weaken their Empire then fortifie it, and those other principles of great importance rather serue to make a tyrant, then to increase or maintaine a temporall Christian gouernement.

G. H.

G. H.

5.

You might with the *Turke* as well haue ioyned the King of *China*, the *Sophie of Persia*, the *Chame of Tartarie*; the great *Magore*, *Presbiter Iohn* & the like, whose estates few Christian Princes exceede, or can match in riches and greatnes: But that they should haue their estates *Conferred on them by the Prince that ruleth in the aire*, neither *Ambrose* affirms it, nor is it in it selfe true. Saint *Ambrose* his words are these, *A Deo, potestatum ordinatio, amalo, ambitio potestatis*: The ordaining of the power is from God, but the ambitious desire, not the conferring of it, from the diuell. Indeed it is his challenge in that chapter, [*To whom soeuer I will, I giue it*], speaking of the power and glory of earthly Kingdomes; but it is the voice of God speaking in the person of wisdom, in the 8th of the *Proverbs*, [*By mee Kings raigne*], and Saint *Paul* teacheth vs, [*There is no power, such as him selfe liued vnder, but of God*], to which purpose it is well sayd of S. *Augustine* (whom M. Doctor pretendeth to follow most among the ancients) [*Qui dedit Mario, ipse & Cesari: Qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni: Qui Vespasiano vel patri, vel filio, suauissimis imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo: & ne per singulos ire necesse sit, Qui Constantino Christiano, ipse apostata Iuliano*: Hee that gaue it to *Marius*, gaue it to *Cesar*: He that gaue it to *Augustus*, gaue it to *Nero*: He that gaue it to *Vespasian*, the father or his sonne most sweet Emperours, gaue it also to *Domitian* the most cruell: and that I should not need to reckon vp the rest in particular, He that gaue it to *Constantine* the Christian, gaue it to *Julian* the apostata.] So then in Saint *Augustines* opinion God did not onely order those honours by his prouidence, as you would haue it, but conferre them by his bounty. Neither haue we any reason to thinke, but that he who called *Cyrus* his *Shepherd* and his *Anointed*, and gaue him the *treasures of darkenesse*, and assured *Nabuchadonozor* by his Prophet, that him selfe had giuen to him a *Kingdome*, and *power*, and *strength*, and *glorie*, may as truly bee sayd to haue

*Rom. 13.

De ciuit dii.
lib. 5. Cap. 21.

conferred that government upon the Turke which now he holds. But it seemes you aime through the *Turkes* sides to strike at *Queene Elizabeth*, and through her at *King Iames*, Infidels and Heretikes being in the *Roman* language ranked together: So that their kingdomes being not by Gods donation, they might lie loose, and by occasion fall as it were by excheate to his holinesse gift. Your reasons of the largenesse and long continuance of the *Turkish* Empire are as farre from the purpose, as your whole discourse is from any sound Diuinitie: for not to stand vpon the fitting of the trueth of them, which in some of them may not vniuersally be questioned, your inference is that such principles are of great importance to increase and maintaine a temporall estate: But the point is, whether any can be of sufficient importance to vphold any estate, when God for the dishonouring of his CHRIST is purposed to ruine it, and as the Psalmist speakes [of a fruitfull land to make it barren for the iniquity of the people that dwell therein] before you speake of a Supernaturall iudgement of God in destruction, and here of a Naturall and humane inuention for preservation, which can hold no more proportion with the former, then a *Venice* glasse with an yron pot, or an earthen vessell with a brasen. Lastly, what states you should meane that are willing to become *Turkish*, I know not; but what they are that inioy their estates in capite Ecclesie ad voluntatem Domini Papæ, and enioyne the greatest silence, and outward reuerence in matters of Religion, and withall are content to admit the toleration of *Iewes* and *Turkes* too, in their Dominions, rather then of Christians, your selfe when you wrote this could not bee ignorant. Nay, some of the Popes themselves, as namely *Alexander the VI.* and *Paulus the III.* if we may credite *Thuanus*, had secret commerce with the great Turke against the Christian Princes, and the former of them, if *Iouius*, and *Guicciardin* mistake not, tooke vnder hand of the Turke *Baiazets* two hundred thousand Crownes, to kill his brother *Gemen*. And *Alexander the III.* wrote to the *Soldan*, that if he would liue quietly, he should by some sleight murder the Emperour *Frederike Barbarossa*, and to that end sent him the Emperours picture.

B. C.

6.

It is most true which I gladly write, and so giue out with all the honour I can of your Maiesty, to speake that I thinke there was neuer any Catholike king in England, that did in his time more embrace and fauour the true body of the Church of England, then your Maiesty doth the shadow thereof that is yet left: and my firme hope is that this your desire to honour our blessed Sauiour in the shadow of the Church of England, will mone him to honour your Maiesty so much, as not to suffer you to die out of the body of his true Catholike Church; and in the meane time to let you vnderstand, that all honour that is intended to him by¹ schisme and heresie, doth redound to his great dishonour, both in respect of his realla, and of his mysticall body.

¹ Since it was first a Church, there were neuer so many able labourers in it, nor religiō so sincerely preached and professed, as by Gods grace it is at this day: so that it rather deserues the name of a body, and yours of a shadow.

² By Schisme and Heresie you vnderstand schismatikes and heretikes,

and among them you ranke his Maiestie: Such is the great honour you doe him, as the Iewes dealt with Christ, so doe you with his annointed, they said, Haile King of the Iewes, and they smote him with their rods, *Iohn 19.3.*

G. H.

6.

You honour his Maiesty much indeed, in giuing out that he imbraceth a shadow instead of a substance, as *Ixion* did a cloude in stead of *Iuno*, and *Iacob* bleare-eyed *Lea* in stead of *Rachel*, but in trueth of the Church of *Rome* wee may safely say, that with *Esops* dog in snatching at the shadow, she hath lost the substance of religion, she hath so couered ouer all the parts of diuine seruice with the leaues of ceremonies, that hardly is the fruit it selfe to be seene, she hath so be painted the face of Gods worship, that not easily is the natiue complexion thereof to be found. The Poet spake it of the women of his time, *Pars minima est ipsa puellae*. But we may more truely affirme it of the Romish religion, her ornaments and apparell are such, that a man may seeke *Rome* in *Rome*, and her religion in her religion, and not find either. I will giue but one instance for all. *Bellar-*
mine

mine in the conclusion of his controuersies of the Sacrament of Baptisme, maketh no lesse then twelue ceremonies to march before it, fise to assist, and fise to hold vp the traine, of which some are profane, the greatest part ridiculous, and few or none (wherein wee differ) so much as knowen to the primitiue Church. Now if the Church of England haue scowred off the drosse, and pared away the superstition, and nouelty, retaining the substance, together with the most comely and ancient ceremonies, aswell in this Sacrament, as in other parts of diuine seruice, and his Maiessty follow her therein, shall he therefore be sayd to imbrace *the shadow and not the body*? wheras in truth if euer King of England embraced *the body* of religion without respect to the *shadow* of vaine and needlesse ceremonies, it is his Maiessty, which while he doth, there is little feare (by Gods grace) of his *dying out of the body of Christs true Catholike Church*, whose head is, not the Bishop of Rome, but Christ himselte, vnderstood in the 10. of S. Iohns Gospel [*and there shall be one sheepefold and one sheepeheard.*]

B. C.

7.

For his reall body is not (as the vbiqutaries would haue it) euery where, aswel without the Church as within, but only where himselfe would haue it, and hath ordained that it should bee, and that is amongst his Apostles, and Disciples, and their successours in the Catholique Church, to whom he deliuered his Sacraments, and promised to continue with them vntill the worlds end: So that though Christ bee present in that Schisme, by the power of his dietie (for so he is present in¹ hell also) yet by the grace of his humanity (by participation of which grace, onely there is hope of saluation) hee is not present there at all, except it be² in corners, and prisons, and places of persecution: and therefore whatsoeuer honour is pretended to be done to Christ in schisme and heresie, is not done to him, but to his utter enemies.

1 Obserue the moderation of this reconciler, who would beare the world in hand that Christ is none otherwise present among vs in our Chnrches, then he is among the deuils in hell.
2 If they shall say vnto you, Behold he is in the secret chambers, beleue it not.
Mat. 24. 26.

G. H.

7.

By the *reall* body of Christ, I suppose you vnderstand the *naturall*, his mytticall body being also *reall*, but not naturall: and I see not but this naturall body may as well bee euery where (wherein you taxe the *Vbiquitaries*) as in heauen and on earth, and vpon earth in tenne thousand places at the same instant, which the Church of *Rome* maintaines: but it seemes by confining of him to the Church on earth, your purpose is to exclude him from heauen; and surely mine opinion is (God forgiue me if I thinke amisse) that a great part of those who professe his naturall body to be here, doubt much of his being there. And for the *grace* of his *humanitie* (as you call it) thus much no Christian man will denie, that when Christ sanctified his owne flesh, giuing as God, and taking as man the holy Ghost, he did not this for himselfe onely, but for our sakes, that the *grace* of sanctification and life which was first receiued in him, might passe from him to his whole race; as malediction came from *Adam* vnto all mankind. That which quickeneth vs is the spirit of the second *Adam*, and his flesh that wherewith hee quickeneth; our corruptible bodies could neuer liue the life they shall liue, were it not that here they are ioyned with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortality, and as little doubt there is but that this vitall and *sauiing* grace which flowes from the *humanitie* of Christ, is imparted vnto vs by meanes of the Sacraments, they being sensible instruments for the conueying of those blessings to our soules, which are in themselves incomprehensible. And for that Sacrament which is most properly said to impart life vnto the receauer (as the other doth food and sustenance) it is acknowledged by those very men, who are otherwise most bitter and vncharitable toward vs, that children baptized with vs, are thereby made capable of eternall saluation, as far forth as if they had receiued that Sacrament in that Church, & after that forme which they cal Catholike, & consequently you are infor-

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ced

ced (out of the strength of your own principles) to grant (howbeit out of malice you labour to denie it.) that *the grace of Christs humanity is not onely present with vs in corners and prisons among your complices*, but in our publique congregations in a more speciall manner, then by the power of his dietie, by which he is as wel present *among the diuels in hell*, as among the *Pope & Cardinals*, assembled in consistory for the subuersion of states and ruine of kingdoms: yet to affirme, that he is none otherwise present in that Church (*except in corners and prisons and places of persecution*) but onely by the power of his dietie, and not at all by the grace of his humanity, I will neither be so vnaduised as to deliuer, nor so vncharitable as to conceiue; howbeit I haue good reason both to conceiue and to deliuer thus much, that the honour which you pretend you doe him in your will-worship, cannot but redound to his great dishonour, nay our assurance is, that being successours of his Apostles and Disciples in doctrine, as you are of the *Pharises* in traditions, the promise of his presence to the worlds end, as well by the sanctification, as the direction of his holy Spirit, is rather made to vs then you.

B. C.

8.

And for his mysticall body, which is his Church and Kingdome, there can bee no greater dishonour done to Christ, then to maintaine Schisme and discention therein. What would your Maestie thinke of any subiects of yours, that should goe about to raise ciuill dissention or warres in your Kingdome, and of those that should foster and adhere vnto such men? It is the fashion of all rebels when they are in armes to pretend the safety of the king, and the good of the countrey; but pretend what they will, you cannot account such men any better then traitours; and shall we beleeme that

¹ Who are more guilty of this, then your Priests and Iesuites?

² Was not this the pretence of Thomas Percy Earle of Northumberland,

and Charles Neuill Earle of Westmerland, when they tooke armes, and raised forces against their Soueraigne in the yeere 1569. and yet sent out Proclamations and Commissions in her name? which notwithstanding they ceased not to bee Popish traitours, howbeit the Spanish expurgatory index labours to cleare them from that imputation, as also the Earle of Desmond, and a notorious traitour of Ireland, by raising that estimation of them in M. Camden, who iustly records them so to posterity.

our blessed Sauour the King of kings, doth sit in heauen, and either not see the practises of those that vnder colour of seruing him by reformation, doe nothing els but ³serue their owne turnes, and distraet his Church, that is his kingdome on earth by sedition? or shall wee thinke that hee will not in time reuenge this wrong? verely hee seeth it, and doth regard it, and will in time reuenge it.

³ Who haue ierued their own turnes most, and raised more sedition, the Clergy of Rome, by their vniust vſurpation, or the Clergie of England by their iust reformation, I leaue to the world to iudge.

G. H.

8.

Wee as willingly grant, as you are ready to prooue, that a great dishonour is done to Christ, by maintaining Schisme and dissention in his Church, which ought to bee without seame, as his coat. But we demand, who were the authours of this Schisme? they which departed not frō the Church it selfe, but from the corruptions thereof, or they who stiffely maintaining those corruptions, inforced this departure? when Iacob was driuen to depart from Laban by his ill vsage, was the breach in Iacob, or in Laban? when God commaundeth his people to goe out of Babylon lest they should partake of her finnes and plagues, doeth the going out of the people make a Schisme, or the finnes of Babylon? It is true that wee haue forsaken that society which wee held with Rome, but no farther then Rome it selfe hath forsaken Christ: and howsoeuer shee pretend the honour of Christ, as rebels doe the name of the King and State, yet in trueth she is Antichristian in persecuting the members of Christ, and as in many other things, so chiefly in challenging that vniuersality of power and infallibility of iudgement to her selfe, which is onely due to our Sauour. And shall we thinke that he will not in time reuenge this wrong? It cannot be but that [her finnes are come up to heauen, and God hath remembred her iniquities, and in due time that command will take place, Reward her as she hath rewarded you, and giue her double according to her workes, and in the cup that shee hath filled to you, fill her the double; in so much as she glorified her selfe,

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and lined in pleasure, so much giue ye to her of torment and sorrow: for shee saith in her heart, I sit being a Queene, and am no widow, and shall see no mourning. Therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine, and shee shall bee burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God, which will condemne her.] And thus our assurance is, that your threats shall returne vpon your selues, verily hee seeth it, and doth regard, and will in time reuenge it.

B. C.

9.

¹ This is the hope and prayer of you all, as long as you want strength, but if you had that once, we should quickly heare you change your note, and sing another song. In the meane time we can account your prayer none other then

as theirs in the last Psalm, saue one who haue the praise of God in their mouth, and are edged sword in their hands, either be what you would seeme, or seeme to be what indeed you are.

But I hope and pray that hee will not reuenge it vpon you nor yours: but rather that he will shew that your desire to honour him, is accepted of him, and therefore will mooue you to honour your selfe and your posterity, with bestowing the same your fauour vpon his Church in the vniity thereof, which you doe now bestow in the Schisme, and that hee will reward both you and yours for the same, according to his promise, not onely with euerlasting glory in heauen, but also with long continued temporall honour and security in this worlde, and this is the first reason of my hope grounded vpon the promise of God.

G. H.

9.

You are herein somewhat more manerly in words, though litle lesse malicious in heart then D^r. Bishop, a bird of the same feather, who in an Epistle directed in like manner to his M^{as}TERIE as yours is, spares not to speake out, but tels him plainly [when they see no hope of remedie, the state being now settled, and a continuall posteritie like to ensue of one nature and condition,

tion, God knoweth what that forcible weapon of necessitie may con-
 straine and drive men vnto at length:] But thanks be vnto God
 the Father of our Lord Iesus CHRIST, who hath so fixed and
 stablished the Royall heart of our gracious *Soueraigne*, as that
 neither his bloodie threatens, nor your sugred promises, can
 moue it one point from the center of that trueth which him-
 selfe hath still professed, and in which his posterity are trai-
 ned vp. And thus the weakenesse of the foundation, vpon
 which *the first reason* of your vaine hope is grounded, is disco-
 uered. God in his promises is alwayes most sure, but this your
 reason pretended to be grounded thereupon most vnure, since
 neither the true Religion is found at this day in that Church
 which you call *Catholike*; neither are temporall blessings al-
 wayes annexed to that Religion which is indeed true. Thus
 much you might haue learned of *Hall the Iesuite*, who after the
 discovery of the *Powderplot*, recites vnto *Littleton* for his com-
 fort certaine examples of Heretikes ouerthrowing Christians, or of
 father *Robert Parsons* in his Replie to his MAIESTIE tou-
 ching *Queene ELIZABETHS* happinesse; [*outward felicities*
(saith hee) are worldlings arguments, no necessary improvements
of Gods blessing,] howbeit Father *Robert Bellarmine* makes it
 one of the 15. and *Bozins* one of his 100. notes of the true
 Church: but much rather and better might you haue learned
 it of the Prophet *David*, who was so sorely perplexed with
 this point, that till he went into the Sanctuarie of God, and
 there vpon consultation with him vnderstood the reason of it,
 hee was well nigh at his wits end, saying to himselfe in a kinde
 of despaire, [* *Then haue I clenfed mine heart in vaine, in vaine*
haue I washed mine hands in innocencie.] Yet if the argument
 were infallible, God hath approued the trueth of his Maiesties
 Religion by those manifold outward blessings and miracu-
 lous deliuerances, which of his mercie hee hath vouchsafed
 him: So that his Maiestie might iustly take vp that of the same
 Prophet in another place, [* *Blesse the Lord, O my soule, and for-*
get not all his benefits: who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who
crowneth thee with louing kindnesse, and tender mercies] and our

* Psal. 73.

* Psal. 103.

hope and vnfaigned prayer to God is, that whiles his *Maiestie* ceaseth not in this maner to honour God, God will not cease in like maner to honour him and his posteritie, with many blessings in this world, and in the next with eternall happinesse.

B. C.

10.

1 In the front of this reason, you seeme to distinguish it from the former, but in the pursuit of this Section you meerey confound them.

2 In saying so, you cannot but put his *Maiestie* to rebuke also, there being the like, & none other reason of him and of other Kings, who haue disclaimed vnion with Rome.

3 I meruaile much where those rules were to be found, for the space of the first 300. yeeres after Christ, and whether y^e greatness and Maiesty of the great Turke, or King of China be not beyond all the rules that Catholike Religion deliuereth in that kind.

4 What they are that despise gouernement, and speake euill of those that bee in authoritie, his *Maiestie* is not now to seeke.

The ¹ second reason of my hope that Catholike Religion may be a great meanes of honor & security to your Maiesties posteritie, is taken from the consideration of your neighbors, the Kings and Princes of Christendome; among whom there is ² no state ancient and truly honourable, but onely those that are Catholike: The reason whereof I take to be, because the 3 rules of Catholike Religion are Eternall, Vniuersall, and Constant vnto themselves, and with all so consonant to Maiestie, and Greatnesse, as they haue made and preserved the Catholike Church reuerent and venerable throughout the Christian world for these thousand and sixe hundred yeres, and those temporall states that haue beene conformable thereunto haue beene alwayes most honourable, and so are like to continue vntill they hearken vnto Schisme. And as for those that haue reiected and opposed the rules of Catholike Religion, they haue beene driven in short time to degenerate, and become either tyrannicall or popular. Your Maiestie I know doth abhorre tyrannie, but if Schisme and Heresie might haue their full swinge ouer the Seas, the very shadow and reliques of Maiestie in England should be utterly defaced, and quickly turned into Heluetian or Belgian popularity: for they that make no conscience to prophane the Maiesty of God, and his Saints in the Church, will, when they seele their strength make no bones to ⁴ violate the Maiestie of the King, and his children in the common wealth.

G. H.

G. H.

10.

Having opened your entrance to a second reason in shew, but indeed the same with the former, you tell vs that among all the Kings and Princes of Christendome, there is no State ancient and truly honorable, but onely those that are Catholike; wherein you doe the King of Denmarke and Sweden, specially the former, great honour, in consideration belike of his neere alliance to his Maiestie, as also to all the secular Princes of Germanie, (the house of Austria and the Duke of Bavaria onely excepted) and among the rest the Prince Elector Palatine of Rhine, his Maiesties sonne in law is most bound to thanke you, and it seemes you conceived so much by intending your journey to Hydelberg: and good reason you should haue been welcome, considering you make both him and all the rest of the Kings and Princes of Christendome that haue forsaken Communion with the Church of Rome, to bee both base and tyrannicall: whereas I may be bold to say it, that at this day there are none more moderate in their governments, then those whom you call *Schismatickes*, and of them the greatest part were neuer so flourishing, as since they renounced societie with that Church, specially the *Heluetians* and *Belgians*, in whom you instance, being growen more rich, more powerfull and politike in their affaires, then euer before: And for popularity the *Heluetians* had it long before any change of religion, and those very *Cantons* which call themselves *Catholike*, retaine that forme and none other vnto this day; And for the *Belgians* it appeares by the Prince of Orange his Apologie, that they euer challenged their freedome as due by the Capitulations betweene them and their gouernours the Dukes of Burgundy, and now at last after so much Christian blood spilt (as all the world knowes) in the Articles of peace concluded betweene the King of Spaine and them, they are declared a free State. Now whether they make any conscience of profaning the Maiestie of God, let their published Confessions which testifie, and hee

hee that compares their practise with that of the *Italians*, may easily iudge of the tree by the fruits, whether wee regard the *prophanation of his Maiesty* in the blaspheming of his Name, or the disgracing of his word, or the vnsanctifying of his day; & for *his Saints* they all agree (I speake for the maine body of their guides and professours) in giuing them as much *honour* as they are lawfully capable of, or would themselues willingly receiue; and if this bee the *herese* you meane, wee profess it hath had its full swinge ouer seas already, but doe not yet perceiue that there by *the Maiestie of our King is any way violated*, but rather strengthened and increased. Lastly, whereas you tell vs that you take the reason of all this to bee, because the rules of *Catholike religion* are eternall, vniuersall and constant to themselves; I graunt there is and ought to be a mutuall dependance betwixt religion and ciuill policie, the one both giuing and receiuing life and strength vnto, and from the other: yet true religion medleth not so much with the temporal state, as to hinder or further the proceedings of it, otherwise then by the force of the word and the power of Ecclesiasticall censures: but that which you call *the Catholike religion*, hath (like the Iuie that growes into the wall) so incorporated and intwisted it selfe into the bowels of those States where it is settled, that it can hardly bee rooted out, or remooued without endangering the bodies of the States themselues, which cannot but giue vs iust occasion to suspect, that it is for the most part in the points controuersed betweene vs, nothing else but a policie inuented of men, to serue their owne turnes. And consequently according to your owne rule set downe in the *second Section* of your *first chapter*, a false and counterfeit religion. And in trueth when wee shall come to examine the rules of that Church, wee shall finde that they are not so consonant to the Maiestie and greatnesse of temporall Princes, as you pretend, but rather tend to the trampling of their Maiestie vnder foote, and laying their honour in the dust, and to the aduancing and raising of the greatnesse of the Bishop of *Rome* to the vtmost pitch and possibilitie of height. Some of these rules which make so much for the Maiestie of Kings are brought by *Bellarmino*, and by his
Maiestie

Maiestie truely obserued and quoted in the latter end of his *Apologie for the Oath for Allegiance*, which because they are so pat to this present purpose, I will craue pardon to borrow and annexe hereunto: they are twelue in all, a fit number for the Iesuites Creede, or to make vp a full Iury to passe a verdict vpon Mr. Doctors Assertion,

- 1 That Kings are rather slaues then Lords. 1 De Laici, cap. 7.
- 2 That they are not onely subiects to Popes, to Bishops, to Priests, but euen to Deacons. 2 De Ponti, R. lib. 1. cap. 7.
- 3 That an Emperour must content himselfe to drinke, not onely after a Bishop, but after a Bishops Chaplen. 3 Ibidem.
- 4 That Kings haue not their authority nor office immediately from God, nor his Law, but onely from the law of nations. 4 Ibidem & de Cler. cap. 20.
- 5 That Popes haue degraded Emperours, but neuer Emperour degraded the Pope: nay, euen * Bishops that are but the Popes vassals, may depose Kings, and abrogate their lawes. 5 De Pontif. lib. 3. cap. 16.
* Lib. 5. cap. 8.
- 6 That Churchmen are as farre aboue Kings, as the soule is aboue the bodie. 6 De Laici, cap. 8.
- 7 That Kings may be deposed by their people for diuers respects. 7 De Pontif. lib. 3. cap. 8.
- 8 But Popes can be deposed by no meanes: for no flesh hath power to iudge of them. 8 De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 16.
- 9 That obedience due to the Pope is for conscience sake. 9 De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 15.
- 10 But the obedience due to Kings is onely for certaine respects of order and policie. 10 De Clerici, cap. 28.
- 11 That those very Churchmen that are borne and inhabit in Soueraigne Princes countreys, are notwithstanding not their Subiects, and cannot bee iudged by them, although they may iudge them. 11 Ibidem.
- 12 And that the obedience that Churchmen giue to Princes 12 Ibidem.

even in the meanest and meeere temporall things, is not by way of any necessary subiection, but onely out of discretion, and for obseruation of good order and Custome.

His Maiesties inference hereupon is this: *These contrarieties (saith hee) betweene the Booke of God and Bellarmines bookes; haue I here set in opposition each to other, [ut ex contrariis iuxta se positæ veritas magis elucescere possit:] and thus farre I dare boldly affirme, that whosoever will indifferently weigh these irreconciliable contradictions here set downe, will easily confesse that Christ is no more contrary to Beliall, light to darkenesse, and heauen to hell, then Bellarmines estimation of Kings is to Gods, by whom they are called (as his Maiestie noteth before) "The sons of the most High, nay, * Gods themselves, * The Lords anointed, * Sitting in his throne, * The angels of God, * The light of Israel, * The nursing fathers of the Church, with innumerable such titles of honor, wherewith the old Testament is filled; and as for the New Testament, Every soule is commanded to be subiect vnto them, euen for conscience sake. All men must be prayed for, but specially Kings, and those that are in authoritie. * The Magistrate is the minister of God to doe vengeance on him that doth euill, and reward him that doth well: yea, we must obey all higher powers, but specially Princes, and those that are supereminent. * Come vnto Caesar what is Caesars, and to God what is Gods: So that wee may iustly conclude out of his Maiesties true collections, and iust inferences, that the rules of holy Scripture which wee make our principall and onely infallible leuell, as well in matter of manners as of doctrine, are indeed most consonant to the maiesty and greatnesse of Kings; but the rules of that religion which you call Catholike, as they are reported by Bellarmine, (next his Holinesse, the chiefe pillar and Proctor thereof of this age hath afforded) most disconsonant and repugnant thereunto. I cannot but wonder then what Mr. Doctor meant to write thus to his Maiestie, who hauing so particularly and exquisitely published his mind to the world in this point, it must needs*
argue

* 2. Sam. 7. 14.

* Psal 82. 6.

* 1. Sam. 24. 11.

* 2. Chro. 9. 8.

* 2. Sam. 14. 20.

* 2. Sam. 21. 17.

* 1. say 49. 23.

* Rom. 13. 5.

* 1. Tim. 2. 2.

* Rom. 13. 4.

* Matth. 22. 21.

argue grosse ignorance and negligence in him, not to haue read or obserued what was by him written, or a strong presumption of his owne abilitie with one breath of his mouth, or blot of his pen to perswade his Maiesly to the contrary.

B. C.

II.

I knowe well that the Puritans of England, the Hugonots of France, and the Geuses of Germany, together with the rest of the Calvinists of all sorts are a great faction of Christendome, and they are glad to haue the pretence of so great a Maieslie to be¹ their chiefe; and of your posteritie to be their hope: But I cannot be perswaded that they euer will or can ioyne together to aduance your Maieslie or your children further then they may make a present gaine by you; they are not agreed of their religion, nor of the principles of vniuersall and eternall truthe, and how can they be constant in the rules of particular and transitory honour, where there is nulum principium ordinis, there can bee nullum principium honoris: such is their case, there is a voyce of confusion among them as well in matters of State, as of Religion: their power is great, but not to edification: they ioyne together only² against good order which they call the common enemy, and if they can destroy that, they will in all likelihood turne their fury against themselves, and like deuils³ torment, like serpents deuoure one another: in the meantime if they can⁴ make their Bourgers Princes, and turne old kingdomes into new States, it is like enough they will doe it, but that they will euer agree together to make any⁵ one Prince, King or Emperour ouer them all, & yeeld due obedience vnto him further then either their gaine shal allure them, or his sword shal compell them, that I cannot perswade my selfe to beleene: and therefore I cannot hope that your Maieslie or your posteritie can expect the like honour or securitie from them, which you might doe from Catholike Princes, if you were ioynd firmly to them in the vnitie of Religion.

¹ Neither the Dutch nor the French acknowledge his Maieslie their chiefe.

² They ioyne together against the visible Monarchie of the church, or rather the tyranny of the Pope which you call order, but good it can not be, being not from God.

³ I desire to learne where you find that the deuils torment one another: once we are sure, if they did but helpe to cast out one another, their kingdome could not stand.

⁴ You seeme to intend the Netherlands, which notwithstanding was neuer a kingdome, nor their

Bourgers Princes: but how the Pope hath raised the ancient kingdome of the Romanes into a new State, and made himselfe of a Priest a temporall Prince, wee are not ignorant. ⁵ Neither can I perswade my selfe that your Catholikes will euer roine together to make one King ouer them all, though the Iesuites it may be both desire and endenour it.

G. H.

II,

The word
Gewe in their
language signi-
fies a begger.

His Maiestie neither needs nor desires *aduancement* from *forraine parts, or parties*: yet we cannot but acknowledge that those whom you call *Gewes* of *Germanie* (a nicke name first imposed on the *Netherlanders* by *Barlamont* a Spanish factor) (who withstood the bringing in of the Spanish Inquisition among them, and vpon occasion of that name, tooke for their deuice a wallet and a dish, with this Inscription; *Faithfull to God and the King euen to beare the Wallet*: Inferring thereby, that they were better Subiects then *Barlamont* and his adherents) are more able vpon all occasions to second his *Maiestie*, specially vpon the Seas, then any other State in *Christendome*. What seruice they did vs in the yeere 1588, by keeping the *Prince of Parma* from ioyning with the *Spanish* fleet, which had swallowed vs vp in conceit, it is well knowen, and no doubt but being confederates and friendly vsed, they would be readie vpon like occasion to performe the like friendly office. And for those whom you call *Catholikes*, I would know how many of them labor to *aduance* their confederates farther then it stands with their owne aduantage or reputation.

In matter of Religion the *Netherlander*, *Heluetian*, and *French* differ not at all: and from some States of the *higher Germanie*, they differ not so much as the French *Catholike*, from the *Romish* and *Spanish*, in as much as the latter admit of the *Councell of Trent*, the former not so: and againe, (which is another notable and maine point of difference) the former submit the *Pope* to a generall Councell, the latter not, but as they haue made him transcendent ouer Kings; so haue they ouer Bishops too, not onely single, but assembled in Synode. So that vpon the matter they were as good keepe themselves at home, and saue so much trauell and charge: But to graunt those (whom notwithstanding you call *Caluinists* without exception or distinction) were *not agreed* of their owne religion, yet to say that the rules of particular and transitorie honour depend

depend vpon the principles of vniuersall and eternall truth, it can by no meanes be admitted as a true principle, since those rules by reason may be, and by practise are as certaine and constant amongst Infidels as Christians. No people were euer more punctuall and precise in termes of honour then the ancient *Grecians* and *Romanes*, yet were they we know without God in the world, without the knowledge of vniuersall and eternall truth. And the same may be iustified of many of the Easterne princes at this day: but I cannot but meruaile at your folly (specially taking vpon you to play the Statesman) in telling his Maiestie that the *Caluinists* will neuer agree together in making any one king ouer them all, as if any Prince in Christendome were so sencelesse as to expect it, or they so mad as to offer it, considering they are all either vnder the obedience of other Soueraignes, or free Estates of theselues: And yet no doubt but as great securitie may be expected from them, as from your Catholikes, though his Maiestie were vnited to them in Religion, in as much as they maintaine not the lawfulnessse of acquiocation, nor acknowledge any superiour power able to asloile them from the obligation of their oathes, and solemne promises. What reason hath his Maiestie (if hee were as firmly ioyned to them in the vnitie of their Religion, as the Pope himselfe could desire) to expect greater securitie from them then his Predecessors found at the hands of their Ancestors, or themselves vpon occasion and opportunitie finde at the hands each of other? Nay if they find no securitie many times from the Popes themselves, who are the pretended heads of that Religion, with what assurance can they expect it one from another, being thereby onely linked together as members vnto that head? It hath beene sayd of some of them, how iustly I leaue to those who haue made triall, that they neither sing as they pricke, nor pronounce as they write nor speake as they thinke: the latter of which (if we may credit *Comines*) might iustly be verified of *Lewis* the XI. of France, who made shew of deuotion in the vnitie of that religion, no man more, in so much that he would often swear by, and kisse his *Nostredam* of lead which he euer wore as a brouch in his hat, yet what little security o-

ther princes of the same religion found at his hands in their contracts with him, the same historiographer who was well acquainted with his secrets, witnesseth, and were he silent, yet his counsell giuen to his sonne Charles the eight, that hee should learne no more latine but this, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, would speake as much; which lesson is indeede onely recorded of him, but it may rather bee wished, then thought that it is not learned and practised of the greatest part of the great ones in the world; *Machianels* name being hateful and odious to all, but his rules and precepts too much imbraced of some.

B. C.

12.

The third reason of my hope that Catholike religion should bee most auailable for the honour and security of your Maiesty and your children, is taken from the consideration of your subiects, which can be kept in obedience to God and to their king by no other religion, and least of all by the¹ Caluinists: for if their principles be receiued once, and well drunke in, and digested by your Subiects, they will openly maintaine that God hath as well predestinated men to be² traitours, as to be kings, and hee hath as well predestinated men to be theeues, as to be iudges, and hee hath as well predestinated that men should sinne, as that Christ should die for sinne; which kinde of disputations I know by my experience in the countrey, that they are ordinary among your countrey-Caluinists, that³ take themselues to be learned in the Scriptures, especially when they are met in an⁴ alehouse and haue found a weaker brother whom they thinke fit to instruct in these profound mysteries: and howsoeuer they be not yet all so impudent as to holde these conclusions in plaine termes, yet it is certaine they all hold these principles of doctrine from whence working heads of greater liberty, doe at their pleasures draw these consequences in their lines and practises: and is this a religion fit to keepe subiects in obedience to their Soueraigne?

¹ Bellarmine chargeth not onely Caluin with this opinion, but Zuinglius and Kelsion, Melancthon, who were not Caluinists.

² Surely that Pope who in his Conclaue told his Cardinals that the dominican Frier murdered the French King by the will of God, by his ordinance, by the aide of the Almighty, by his speciall helpe, spake little lesse, yet is that oration verified by Warrington a Romish priest,

sometimes Chapleine to Card. Allen, from whom himselfe got a copie. ³ They might quickly bee as learned as your selfe in the Scriptures, for any thing appears in this Epistle. ⁴ Belike your selfe were present to take your part of the ale, or you had good intelligence with the alewife,

³ They might quickly bee as learned as your selfe in the Scriptures, for any thing appears in this Epistle. ⁴ Belike your selfe were present to take your part of the ale, or you had good intelligence with the alewife,

G. H.

G. H.

12.

Your third reason to perswade his Maieslie to the renouncing of his owne religion, and the imbracing of yours is, by bearing him in hand that none other will keepe his subjects in obedience, and least of all the Calvinisticall. But is it possible so learned and so wise a man as you take your selfe to bee, should write in this maner, and withall remember that your letter was directed to his Maieslie, who hath long since proclaimed it to the world that [no other sect of heretikes, not excepting Turke, Jew, nor Pagan, no not euen those of Calicutte, who adore the deuill, did euer maintaine it by the grounds of their religion, Marke (by the grounds of their religion) that it was lawfull or rather meritorious (as the Romish Catholikes call it) to murder princes, or people for quarrell of religion: And although particular men of all professions of religion, haue bene some theenes, some murtherers, some traitours, yet euer when they came to their ende and iust punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, and not in their profession, these Romish Catholikes onely excepted.] And if that be your religion which we finde maintained by the chiefe pillars and Doctours of your Church, and determined to bee Catholike by your Popes and Cardinals, surely we haue as litle reason to entertaine your doctrine, as wee haue good reason euer to be iealous of your practise. Your doctrine is, That the Pope, if hee thinke good, may excommunicate and depose kings, and dispose of their kingdomes, by absolving their subjects from their allegiance, and setting foraine princes to invade there dominions, as if they held not their Crownes from God, but from him, and as if they were to write no more in their stiles, by the grace of God, but by the Popes grace, king of such or such a kingdom. Your doctrine is, that treason deliuered vnder the seale of confession is not to be discovered, though it be to the indangering of your Soueraigns person, & the subuersion of the whole body of the State. Your doctrine is, That as many Churchmen as are in the Kingdom (which in most is
a third

¶ In his speech
in Parliament
after the Powder
treason.

a third part, in some more) they are all exempted from the coercion of the civill Magistrate, being for punishment, whether in bodie or in estate, onely lyable to the censures of Ecclesiasticall courts, which haue both dependance vpon the *Popes* authoritie, and direction from his Canon Law. Your doctrine is, That as many Bishops and Arch-Bishops as are any where consecrated, ought to take their oath to bee true and loyall to their good Lord and holy Father of *Rome*, to the utmost to execute and further his Commaunds, without any limitation or reference to the authoritie of their Soueraigne Lord the King, as may appeare by the tenour of the oath here ensuing, which I haue annexed, to the end the Reader may iudge whether this be the *onely Religion* (as M^r. Doctour pretendeth) to keepe Subjects in obedience to their Kings.

[I Iohn Bishop or Abbot of A. from this houre forward, shall be faithfull and obedient to S. *Peter*, and to the Holy Church of *Rome*, and to my Lord the *Pope* and his Successors Canonically entring. I shall not bee of counsaile, nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall bee taken or suffer any violence or any wrong by any meanes. Their counsaile to mee credited by them, their messengers or Letters, I shall not willingly discouer to any person. The *Pope*-dome of *Rome*, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the regalities of S. *Peter*, I shall helpe, retaine & defend against all men. The Legate of the *Sea Apostolike* going and comming, I shall honourably intreate. The rights honours,

nours, priuiledges, authorities of the Church of *Rome*, and of the *Pope* and his Successors, I shall cause to bee conserued, defended, augmented and promoted. I shall not bee in Counsell, Treatie, or any act in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of *Rome*, their rights, states, honours or power: And if I know any such to bee mooued or compassed, I shall resist to my power, and as soone as I can, I shall aduertise him, or such as may giue him knowledge. The rules of the Holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reseruations, prouisions, and commandements Apostolike, I shall keepe to my power & cause to be kept of other. Heretikes, Schismatikes and Rebels to our Holy Father and his Successours, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synode when I am called, except I bee let by a Canonical impediment. The lights of the Apostle I shall visite personally, or by my deputie. I shall not aliene or sell my possessions without the *Popes* Councell, so God mee helpe and the holy Euangelists.]

No meruaile then that *Henry the eight* when he commaunded the forme of this Oath to bee publikely reade in Parliament, complained to the Speaker *Sir Tho. Andely* and some others, whom for that purpose he sent for, that he had thought the Clergie of his Realme had bene his Subiects wholly, [*but now we haue well perceined (sayeth hee) that they are to vs but halfe Subiects, or indeed scarce Subiects at all.*] Finally, your doctrine is, that the Christians in the Primatiue Church abstained from taking armes, not so much for conscience sake, as because they wanted strength: which must needs open a wide gappe to the people, vpon any humorous discontent, when they once feele their owne strength, like an vntamed horse to cast their rider if they may; and that I may speake in your own phrase, to make no bones of violating the Maiestie of the king and his children, and is this a Religion fit to keepe Subiects in obedience to their Soueraignes?

Whereas our doctrine on the other side is, That the persons of princes are sacred, and by Gods ordinance priuiledged from all violence: and for their actions, that they are onely accountable to God, their Crownes and Scepters not disposeable by any; but by him who set the one vpon their heads, and the other in their hands, who hath the name written on his thigh, *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, (who as *Iob* spea-
 * *Iob. 12. 19. 21.* keth) [**leadeth Princes away spoiled, and ouerthroweth the mightie, and againe he powreth contempt vpon Princes, and weakeneth the strength of the mightie.*] Lastly, our doctrine is, that the Subiects duetie is not by any dispensable, but by him alone, who by his diuine prouidence subiected them to that power. Now whether of these doctrines, ours or yours is most likely to keepe men in obedience, euen our enemies shall bee our Iudges: Yet this to bee your doctrine your bookes witnesse; and no man of learning and ingenuitie among you will denie.

But for our doctrine you pretend the opinions of *Caluinists*, and those *countrie Calvinists*, and those met in an *Assembly*, not in plaine termes, but by consequences gathered, not by sober or settled braines vpon iudgement, but by *working heads* of greater libertie at their pleasure, and that not in their bookes

or speeches, but in *their liues and practises*. Thus the mountains swell as if wee should haue a giant borne; but at length after much expectation wee haue a little mouse brought into the world. What Mr. Doctour, are there no principles in the Romish Catholike Religion, from whence *working heads, of greater libertie*, doe at *their pleasures* draw the like dangerous consequences in *their liues and practises*? If there bee none, how comes it to passe that there are so many of that profession by whose deedes a man may safely guesse, they say in their hearts there is no God? If there be any, why doe you so pathetically exclaime against *Caluinists*, as if they stood single in this bill of inditement? Shall wee accuse our Blessed SAVIOUR, because he is to some a rocke of offence, or his precious Word, because to some it prooues a sauour of death vnto death? and if wee must acquit him, and lay the fault where it is, on them who draw poison to hurt themselues out of the sweetest flowers, and dazell their owne eyes by looking on the comfortable beames of the Sunne, surely you haue no reason in my iudgement in this case (as by your selfe it is opened) to accuse our doctrine.

I am not ignorant that all the Popes chiefeſt Proctors lay it confidently to our charge, *That wee make God the authour as well of Iudas his treason, as Pauls vocation; as well of Dauids adulterie as Iosephs chastiitie*; as namely *Vasquez, Fenarcentius, Campian, Hayus, Panigrolla, Bozius, Ignatius, Armandus, Kelisou, Possenin, Bellarmin*. But I will be bold to say it, there is none of our writers of note, euen among them, who are reputed the most zealous followers of *Caluin*, haue written any more in this point then *Occham, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Gregorius Ariminensis, Cardinall Cameracensis Medina, Durandus, Bannes, Scotus, Thomas*, and *Bellarmin* himselfe, who as *his Maiestie* rightly obserueth in the Catalogue of his contradictions set downe in his *Apologie*, manifestly opposeth himselfe touching his opinion in this point, in the Booke and Chapter before quoted, in as much as hee affirmeth in the 3. Section thereof, that *God doth not incline a man to euill either naturally or morally*, and in the tenth Section of the same Chapter 2.

In 1. 2. d. 129.

n. 3.

In 1. Iac.

10. reas. cap. 8.

Demonst. 1. 3. q. 1.

Lecton. 8. par. 1.

De fig. lib. 3.

cap. 5.

In bon epist. 10

Cham.

In his Summay.

1. 5. c. 2.

Bib. sel. li. 8. c. 11

De amiss. gra. lib.

2. cap. 1. 3.

Lib. 3. q. 12.

de sac. l. 1. pa.

4. c. 12.

2. d. 34. q. 1. art.

3.

1. q. 1. 3. art. 1. pa.

1. 9. 3.

1. 2. q. 9. 3. art.

6. pa. 4. 9. 6.

3. d. 37. q. 1.

1. par. q. 49. ar. 2.

Lib. 1. dist. 4. 1.

In 9. ad Rom.

lib. 3.

Torquet ac fle-
bit in eu misibi-
liter operando.

voucheth the cleane contrary, namely, that God doth not incline to euill naturally but morally: and in the same place hee is bold to say, that God not onely permitte wicked men to doe many euils, but that by a figure he commandeth it, and excite men vnto it, as a huntsman setteth the dogge vpon the Hare, by letting goe the slip that held the dogge: Nay, hee further addeth, hee sits as president ouer the willes of wicked men: hee ruleth and gouerneth them, he boweth and bendeth them by working inuisibly in them, and that positively, as hee acknowledgeth within a few lines, though before hee denie it: These very wordes of Bellarmine doth Kellison reprehend in Calvin, in the 1. Chap. of his booke of his Suruay, the same man maketh Calvin to teach that God is the onely sinner, in as much as hee doubteth not to say, that the will of God is the necessitie of things, whereas indeede they are *S. Augustines* words, *de Gen. ad lit. lib. 6. cap. 15*: and so rightly quoted by Calvin, though Kellison professe *S. Augustine* haue no such thing in the place by him alleaged. So that if they had the charitie to interpret the speeches of our men as gently and fauourably as they doe their owne, there would appeare little difference, or none at all, and I will vndertake to shewe, if I bee put to it, that many speeches and passages goe for currant and Catholike doctrine among them, which if they should bee alleaged out of Calvin, would be censured as heresie: but it seemeth the ground of the song which Mr. Doctor here descanteth on, was taken out of Kellison in the forenamed booke and chapter, where hee alleageth Calvins words to be these, but falsly quoted out of his 37. Booke: [I grant that theeues and murtherers, and other euill doers are the instruments of Gods providence, whom the Lord doth vse to execute those iudgements which hee hath himselfe determined,] as if Calvin said any more, or so much herein then *S. Peter* hath giuen him warrant for, in the 4. chap. of the *Acts*, where he thus speaketh, [* Of a trueth against thy holy child I E S V S whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and people of Israel were gathered together, for to doe whatsoeuer thy hand and thy counsell determined before to bee done,] or *Ioseph* in the 45. of *Genesis*, comforting his brother, * God did send

* Vers. 27. 28.

* Vers. 5.

send mee before you to preforme life: or Job when the *Caldians* had robbed him of his cattel, and slaine his seruants, * *The Lord* * *Cap. 1. 21.*
hath taken away: or the Prophet *Esay*, where hee likeneth the King of *Assyria* to an * *Axe*, to a *Sawe*, to a *Rod*, to a *Staffe* mo- * *Cap. 10. 15.*
ned and directed by the hand of God, for the execution of his iudgements: wherefore let *Kellison* either accuse these holy penmen of God, and teach them to correct their manner of speaking, or let him cease to accuse *Caluin* for this passage, who therein affirmeth no more, nor so much as they doe.

To conclude, what wee maintaine in this poynt touching the will or cooperation of God in sinne or with sinners, is among many others fully and cleerely deliuered by the pens of the most Reuerend father in God the *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* his Grace, now being, in the last of his sixe *solemne Lectures*, read in the *Vniuersitie of Oxford*, for his degree of *Doctorship*, of *Doctor Abbot* now *L. Bishop of Salisbury* in his answer to *Doctor Bishops* preface to his second part, of *Doctor Morton* Deane of *Winchester* in the first Booke and 25. Chap. of his *Cath. Apologie*, of *Doctor Feild* Deane of *Glocester* in his third Booke and 23. Chapter of the *Church*, and lastly of my late worthy Colleague *Doctor White*, in the 41. Digression, and 50. Paragraph of *The way to the Church*. The summe of all is this, that about and concerning sin God doth three things; first as a cause vniuersall hee sustaineth and vpholdeth the being and moouing, both of the nature and actions whether good or bad of all mankind: Secondly, by withdrawing his grace which should lighten the vnderstandings and soften and mollifie the hearts of men: Thirdly by giuing way to *Satan*, to worke vpon them, and no way either strengthening them against him, or weakning his force: Fourthly, by ordinating sinne, which is nothing else but the disposing and directing of it in such maner and measure, as to him seemeth best, that it stretcheth it selfe no further or otherwise, either for time or place, or persons, then his good pleasure willeth: sometimes he turneth it to another end then the person doing it thought of, sometimes he maketh way for it by shutting vp and stopping all other passages by which it might breake forth,

sometimes hee punisheth one sinne with another, as pride is punished with enuie, he being not the author of enuie, as it is sinfull, but as is it carries a sting with it, implying a contrariety betwene it and the soule of man, which maketh it bitter and afflictiue. Fifthly and lastly, by occasioning sinne accidentally, as when God doeth that which in it selfe is good, and yet knoweth through the euill disposition which is in men, it will giue occasion to increase their wickednesse, and make it greater then it was before. This I take to be the substance and effect of that wee hold touching this point, and I doubt not but the vndertaking of my deceased fellow Chaplaine may bee made good, in shewing euery parcell of this doctrine in the writings of those, who either liue or died in profession, members of the Church of Rome. To conclude then, *God predestineth no man to bee a Traitor or a Theefe*, but foreseeing hee will bee so, hee determineth to make vse of their theft or treason for the aduancement of his owne glory, and the aduantage of his Church and children, hee being in himselfe so good as hee would suffer none euill in the world, were hee not withall so powerfull, as out of euery euill to draw some good, as by the same power hee brought light out of darkenesse and caused water abundantly to flowe out of the hard and drie rocke.

B. C.

13.

¹ *Fœlix scelus
virtus vocatur*,
had it taken effect,
that which now is stiled an
horrible treason
had been a most
honourable and
meritorious acte.

² It was the
deuill indeed that
wrought it, it
being beyond all humane inuention, yet you cannot denie, though you are vnwilling to grant it, that hee
vsed none but pretended Catholikes for his instruments in that businesse.

*Here I know the great masters of schisme will neuer leane obie-
cting the¹ horrible treason of certaine Catholikes against your Ma-
iesty, which if the² deuill had not wrought to their hands, they
had had little to say against Catholikes before this day. But I hum-
bly intreat that the fact of some few men may not for euer bee obie-
cted against the trueth of a general rule. It is not the question, which
religion will make all your subjects true, but which religion is most
likely to make all true. It is certaine there bee traitours against*

God.

God and man of all religions, and Catholikes as they are the³ best subjects; so when they fall to it, they are the worst traitours. But if we will looke upon examples, or consider of reasons, the Catholike is the onely religion, which as it doth duely subordinate kings vnto⁴ God; so doth it effectually binde subjects to performe all lawfull⁵ obedience vnto their kings. I will not repeat examples, because the ancient are tedious, and the present are⁶ odious: but if there can be but one king named in all the world, that did euer receiue honour from Calvinists, farther then to bee their champion or protectour, vntill their turne were serued: then I may be content to beleuee that your Maiesty and your family shall receiue⁷ perpetuity from them. But if your Calvinists doe professe to honour you, and all other Calvinists doe ouerthrow their kings and princes wheresoeuer they can preuaile, I can hardly beleuee that yours meane any more good earnest, then the rest. There is certainly some other matter that they are contented for a time to honour your Maiesty, it cannot bee their religion ties them to it,⁸ for it doeth not tie them to it selfe. There is no principle of any religion, nor no article of any faith, which a Calvinist will not call in question, and either altogether deny or⁹ expound after his owne fancie: and if he be restrained, he cries out by and by he cannot haue the liberty of his conscience, and what bound of obedience can there be in such a religion?

³ The latter we easily beleuee, but leaue you to proue the former.

⁴ It may be by God you vnderstand him, who exalts himselfe aboue all that is called God, and by lawfull obedience as much, and as farre as he shall thinke fit.

⁵ Whether our religion or yours bind subjects, more to the performance of their duty, let my answer to your¹² section make prouee.

⁶ Indeed the fresh examples of the death of the last Henry of France, and the infinite treasons against Elizabeth, and our present Soueraigne, cannot be but odious to

all good Christians. ⁷ Perpetuity of kingdomes is onely from God, but yet may his Majesty more iustly expect perpetuity fro his subjects, who acknowledge none other Soueraigne, then those Princes from theirs, who acknowledge them deposeable by a forreine power. ⁸ Their religion being grounded onely vpon the liuely oracles of God, cannot but tie them more effectually to it selfe then your humane traditions. ⁹ We assume no liberty of expounding articles of faith at our pleasure, as his Majesty hath declared it in his booke against *Vrsi*. but a freedome by Christ, from the rigour of the Law, from the guilt and punishment of sinne, and from obseruing humane traditions as religiously, as diuine ordinances,

G. H.

13.

The world is now come to a good passe, that those who obiect the baynousnesse of horrible treasons, shall carrie the title of the great masters of schisme: But notwithstanding we bee held Schismatikes for our labour, we will not leaue to obiect it, and

not.

not onely to obiekt it, but crie and thunder against it, being as his *Maiesty* hath rightly obserued [*not onely a crying sinne of blood, but a roaring and thundering sinne of fire and brimstone:*] and the rather for that we doe not therein so much obiekt the fact of those who were to be the actours in it, as the rules of those their ghostly fathers and spirituall guides, who were acquainted with it, and consenting to it, ¹ some of whom haue since bene apologized by the pens of Romish writers, and ² other some protected and countenanced in or by the court of *Rome* it selfe. One reports it that the *Pope* caused the massacre of *Paris* (what time in diuers places of *France* were murdered about 60000. persons) to bee painted in his palace, it should seeme *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, lest so extreme wickednesse should be forgotten. So no doubt should this Powder worke haue bene painted by it, if it had not miscaried, saue that no art could haue imitated the confusion, no colour haue represented so barbarous cruelty. What staine could shadow the blood of so royall Princes? what red were sufficient to paint the blood of so many and noble Christians? what blacke the darknesse of that day? what azure the vnmercifulnesse of that fire? what deuise, what inuention could haue expressed the wofull crie of the innocent, and the infernall noise of the blow? it was the vttermost point of all villeny, beyond which is *terra incognita*, no man can deuise what should bee betweene Hell and it: and shall they then bee reputed *masters of schisme* who obiekt the foulencesse of a *treason* by your owne confession so horrible? then let our greatest Bishops, our wisest Counsellours, our grauest Iudges, and our Soueraigne himselfe, bee all accounted the great *Masters of schisme*, who describe it by so much more liuely then others, in as much as they looked more narrowly into the particular veines and bowels of the plot, were more capable to conceiue the vast extent of the mischief likely to haue ensued vpon it, and lastly were more sensible of the horror of it, in regard of their owne danger. Yet thus much we all conceiue, that if all the deuils and damned spirits in hell, together with all the reprobates on earth, should meet in *Conclau*e, and set all their inuentions aworke

¹ Garnet by Edmund.
² Greenwell and Gerrard.

to the vttermoſt, they could neuer finde out againe the like helliſh and damnable deſigne.

But had not the deuill (you ſay) wrought this to their handes, we had little to ſay againſt Catholikes before this day: As if the Bull of Pius Quintus, the intiteling of the Spaniard to the kingdome of Ireland, the rebellion of Northumberland and Weſtmerland were now quite forgotten, or the praetiſes of Sommeruile ſet aworke by Hall a Seminary Prieſt of Spaine, furniſhed at the Popes charge, with fiftie other reſolutes, of Throgmorton, ſollicitied by Bernardine Mendoza, the Spaniſh Leiger Ambaſſadour lying in London, of Parry, incouraged by Cardinall Comoes perſwaſion, of Ballard and Babington, together with twelue other gentlemen inboldened by the ſame Mendoza, of Stanly apologized by Cardinall Allen, of Cullen an Iriſh fencer hired by Stanly for thirty pound, of Lopez a phiſitian and Portugall by birth, ſet a worke by Chriſtophero de Moro, a ſpeciall counſeller of the king of Spaine, for a iewel of gold garniſhed with a great diamond, and a large rubie in hand, and the promiſe of 50000. crownes more to bee payd, of Yorke and Williams intiſed by Holt a Ieſuite, and Owen an Engliſh fugitiue, and Spaniſh penſioner, & laſtly of Squire animated and inſtructed by Walpoole, were not yet freſh in memory: beſides infinite other conſpiracies of Romaniſts plotted againſt the State and perſon of our late renowned Soueraigne. Had not her Maieſty iuſt cauſe then to complaine as ſhe did, in open Parliament, That ſhee knew no creature breathing, whoſe life ſtood hourly in more perill then her owne, and that euen in the firſt entrance into her eſtate, ſhe entred into infinite dangers of life, as one that was to wreſtle with many and mighty enemies? And that it may appeare to the world, that his Holineſſe could not plead ignorance or innocency in theſe proceedings, I will hereunto annexe the copie of the Cardinals letter to Parry translated out of the Italian originall, very worthy in my iudgement not to be buried in forgetfulneſſe, but to be commended to the knowledge of ſucceeding ages.

O

Sir,

SIr, his *Holineſſe* hath ſeene your Letter of the firſt, with the aſſurance included, and cannot but commend the good diſpoſition and reſolution, which you write to holde toward the ſeruice and benefit publique, wherein his *Holineſſe* doeth exhort you to perſeuer, with cauſing to be brought to effect that which you promiſe; and to the ende you bee ſo much the more holpen by that good Spirit which hath mooued you thereunto, his *Holineſſe* doth grant you *Plenary Indulgence*, and remiſſion of all your finnes, according to your requeſt, aſſuring you that beſide the merit that you ſhall receiue therefore in heauen; his *Holineſſe* will further make himſelfe debtour to acknowledge and requite your deſeruings by all the beſt meanes he may, and ſo much the more in that you uſe the more modeſty in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and honourable determinations, and attend your health, and to conclude, I offer my ſelfe vnto you, heartily wiſhing all good and happy ſucceſſe. From *Rome*, the 30. of Ian. 1584.

At your diſpoſing,
N. Card. of Como.

Now

Now if this bee not directly to make God the authour of treasons, as well as of kingdomes, to perswade men that they are moued thereunto *by the good Spirit*, that they are not only satisfactory for sinne, but meritorious, holy, honourable, for mine owne part I know not what is. But to proceede, who were they, but pretended Catholikes, that were authors of the Prince of *Aurence* his vntimely death? of that bloody and barbarous massacre in France, of which¹ one of their own Catholike historians writes,

*Excidat illa dies auo, nec postera credant
Secula.*

And were not *Philopater* and *Doleman*, and *Rossam Peregrinus* the bastards of *Creswell* and *Parsons*, and *Reynolds* long since censured here at home, and lately the seditious bookes of *Mariana*, *Becanus*, *Suarez*, all *Romish* Catholikes, and Iesuites, condemned to the fire by the high Court of *Parliament* of *Paris*? and yet notwithstanding all this and much more that might be brought to this purpose out of his *Maiesties* Apologie, would you now beare him and vs in hand, that *had it not bene for the Powder-treason*, we had had little to say against *Romish Catholikes* before this day? Certainly it must needs argue (when you thus wrote) either your extreme ignorance in not vnderstanding the passages of our estate, or extreme malice in publishing the contrary to that which in my iudgement you could not but vnderstand.

But you demand, *one king to bee named in all the world that neuer receiued honor from Calvinists, farther then to be their champion and protectour, untill their turne were serued*; as if you were ignorant what honour *Caluin* himselfe yeelded to *Francis* the first, in his Epistle prefixed to his institutions, howbeit he were rather a persecutour, then a protectour of that profession, as appeared by his commending the destruction of *Mirandol* and *Cabrieros* to the *Parliament* of *Pronence*, howbeit afterward he repented himselfe of the fact, and gaue charge to *Henry* his sonne, to doe iustice vpon the murtherers: *Henry* the III. they forsooke not to the last being persecuted, and at last murdered by the leaguers: and as for *Henry* the IV. surnamed the great,

¹ It was the speech of *Christophorus Thuanus* reported by *Iacobus Aug.* his sonne.

they not onely stucke close to him in all his distresses, when his Romish Catholike subiects banded themselues against him, but when hee had quitted his owne and their religion, and of their champion became a great patron and benefactour of the Iesuits, their most malicious opposites; yet did they not cease to honour him still as much as any his most loyall and louing subiects, both liuing, by their pennes and tongues, and persons, and states, and beeing dead with their teares, and desire of search to be made, and iustice to bee done vpon such as should bee found to haue any finger in his death: Or if you were ignorant of these forraine examples, yet could you not but remember that here at home *Edward the sixth*, and *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memory, and *our present gracious Soueraigne*, receiued as much honour from those whome you call *Caluinists*, as euer any prince in the world, from his pretended Catholike subiects, and that not so much for the *seruing of their owne turnes*, as for conscience sake, and the performance of their duties. What *turne* can they now expect to be serued from *Queene Elizabeth* being gathered to her fathers, yet doth her name remaine alwayes honourable among them, and the memoriall of her pretious, as the remembrance of Iosias, [** like the composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the Apothecary, sweet as hony to all mouthes, and as musicke at a banquet of wine.*] whereas many of her Romish Catholike subiects endeououred what they could to haue taken her heart blood from her beeing liuing, and still indeuour what they can to take her good name from her beeing dead. At his *Maiesties* entrance some of them pretended to honour him, none more, but it was for the *seruing of their owne turnes*, in hope of a toleration: for when once they sawe the constancie of his MAIESTIES minde, and the vanity of their owne hope, they hoped to haue serued him and his posterity such a *turne*, as should haue sounded through the Christian world, and haue made the eares of him to tingle, that should haue heard it: whereas they who receiued not that satisfaction at the conference of Hampton Court, which they desired, and hoped for, continue notwithstanding faith-
full

* Eccles. 49.1.

full and loyall Subiects to their *Soueraigne*. Lastly for *Queene Mary* though they could expect no good turne from her in regard of their profession, but rather all the shrewd turnes that her misguided zeale, and the malice of others could heape vpon them, yet the *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* Protestants, were her strongest furtherance to attaine the Crowne, and afterwards the rest as well as they, ceased not to honour her as farre forth as the honor due to God would giue them leaue, except some few, who opposed themselves not so much against her Person or Gouernment, as against the mariage with a forreiner, whose power they feared would bee preiudiciall to the Realme, and yet was not this attempt neither seconded or approved by the maine bodie of that profession: [But all other Calvinists (you say) doe overthrow their Kings and Princes wheresoeuer they can preuaile,] in which passage can none other bee intended but the *Netherlanders*, of whom touching this point, I will say no more, that they are now after the wasting of so much treasure, and the shedding of so much Christian blood, declared a free estate by him, whose Regall right you pretend they overthrow.

Lastly, those whom you call *Caluinists*, either denie, or call into question as few principles of Religion or Articles of Faith, as any *Romish* Catholike: nay, I will be bold to say it, and readie to make it good, that the former maintaine some of them strongly, which the latter overthrow, if not in plaine termes and directly, yet at least indirectly and by consequence, by establishing their owne Articles: Vnknowne to the Apostles and the Primitiue Church, they make the Articles of our Christian Creede of none effect; and for exposition which concerns not points in difference betweene vs, and the Church of *Rome*, if I can iudge any thing, your Writers differ more among themselves, and assume to themselves a greater libertie in expounding then ours: and if they be restrained of their Allegoricall, Tropologicall, and Anagogicall interpretations, (as impertinent many times to the point in hand as wide from the scope of the Text) they will presently cry out that wee despise the authoritie of the Church, when it may be they haue

wrested the meaning of one or two latter Fathers against the streame of Antiquitie; and what bond of obedience can there be to God or to Kings for Gods sake in such Religion?

B. C.

14.

It is commonly objected by State-men that it is no matter what opinions men hold in matters of Religion, so that they be kept in awe by Iustice and by the sword. Indeed for this world it were no matter at all for Religion, if it were possible to doe Iustice and to keepe men in awe by the Sword: In Militarie estates while the Sword is in the hand there is the lesse need of Religion; and the greatest and most martialle estates that ever were, haue benee willing to vse the Conscience and reuerence of some Religion or other, to prepare their Subiects to obedience: but in a peaceable gouernment, such as all Christian kingdomes doe profess: to be if the reines of Religion bee let loose, the sword commonly is too weake, and comes to late, and is like enough to giue the day to the Rebel. And seeing the last and strongest bond of iustice is an Oath, which is a principall act of Religion, and were but a mockerie if it were not for the punishment of Hell, and the reward of Heauen; it is vnpossible to execute iustice without the helpe of Religion, and therefore the neglect and contempt of Religion hath euer benee, and euer shalbe the forerunner of destruction in all settled States whatsoeuer.

¹ You seeme to meane the ancient Romanes, who made more conscience of an Oath (in which particular act of Religion you afterward Insist) then the Romish Catholikes at this day.

G. H.

14.

Having now spent your powder and shot in discharging your three substantiall reasons, and the Apologizing of the Powder-treason; for the filling vp of your paper, but to the abusing of his Maiesties leisure and patience, you here begin a fresh with a solemne discourse of the necessitie of Religion for a well ordered Common-wealth, vnder colour of meeting with an obiection of State-men, that it matters not what opinions

men

men hold in matters of Religion, so they bee kept in awe by iustice, and by the sword: But these Statesmen I take to be of *Machiavels* sect, who, of what nation he was by birth, and of what religion by profession, wee are not ignorant. The ancient *Romans* indeed being themselves Lords of the world, became vassals to the Idoles of all nations, by admitting the free vse of their diuerse Religions of them all, holding that (as it seemeth) the most perfect Religion, which refused none as false: neither is the *Turke* much different from that opinion, howbeit hee preferre his owne Religion before all others: but all other States-men who are so conuersant in affaires of State, as they neglect not Christianitie, can not but hold the Christian religion alone, admittable in Christian Common-wealthes. Now as we grant in all States some Religion necessary, and in Christian States onely the Christian admittable: So with all we confesse an Oath to bee a principall acte of that Religion: But how it is abused by *Romish* Catholikes for *seruing their owne turnes*, by Dispensations, by æquiocations, and Mentall Reseruations, both Histories witnesse, and wee haue had too great experience: By which meanes that which indeede should be the surest and strongest band of truth & iustice, and as the Apostle speakes, [* *an end of all strife*], is become the matter of quarrell, and a meere visard for iniustice and falshood to maske vnder: and by the same meanes, as the *Romish* Religion is growen odious to vs; so for their sakes, both ours and theirs, (going both vnder the common name of Christians) is in that respect growen odious to the very *Turkes*, who obserue an oath made by the name of their *Mahomet* more inuio-
lably, then wee by the Name of CHRIST one to another; as well appeared by our King *Henry* the third, who being a great exactor vpon the poore Commons, as euer was any king before him, or since, and thinking thereby to winne the people sooner to his deuotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, and thereunto bound himselfe with a solemne oath, both before the Clergie and Laitie, to graunt vnto them the old liberties and Customes of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*; perpetually to bee obserued, whereupon

* *1st. 6. 16.*a *Quin-*

a *Quindecim* was granted to the King: but after the payment was sure, the King trusting the Popes dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his oath and covenant, went from that he had promised, and solemnely sworne before. In like manner the sayd King at another time being in neede of money, signed himselfe with the crosse, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole Parliament, that hee himselfe would goe in person against the *Saracens*: but as soone as the money was singled, small care was taken for the performance of the oath, being so put in head by certaine about him, that hee needed not to passe of that periurie, for so much as the Pope for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof, as *Matthew Parris* reports it, who liued at the same time, and was often in Court with him, this was then the account (which by reason of the Popes easie dispensations) Kings made of their oathes to their Subiects.

The like account by the same meanes did *Charles the 9th of France* and the *Queene his mother* make of their oath taken to the King of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Condie*, the Admirall, and the rest of the Protestant profession, at what time his sisters marriage was made more red with their blood then his wine; but this blood crying for vengeance, himself at his death issued blood at all the passages of his bodie: Neither did Subiects make any other reckoning of their oathes, taken to their Kings, if they had the like dispensations, or Kings to Kings, or Subiects to subiects: And if this be not to make a meere mockery of oathes (which should be made * *in trueth, in iudgment and in iustice*,) and consequently of religion, as if indeede there were no punishment of Hell, no reward of heauen, I conceiue not what is: and by your owne rule this contempt of religion cannot but in time drawe on the destruction of those States, which thus vnder pretence of religion and obedience to their holy Father, neglect and contemne it. Lastly, if they esteeme so little of oathes made one to another, what should we expect at their hands, to whom they hold Faith is not to bee held, bee it neuer so solemnely plighted: where-

as

* *Ier. 4. 2.*

as * *Abraham* made conscience of his oath taken to *Abimelech*, and * *Iacob* to *Laban*, both Idolaters; and so did they againe, though Idolaters or Infidels, to *Iacob* and *Abraham*. * *Gen. 31.*

But let such as maintaine that position, *That faith giuen or sworne to Heretikes or Infidels is not to bee held*, call to minde what successe it tooke at the battaile of *Varna* in *Bulgaria*, in the yeere of our Lord 1404, what time *Ladislau* the yong King of *Polony*, by the dispensation of *Pope Eugenius*, and the perswasion of *Iulianus* his Nuntio, broke his Oath and League made with *Amurath* the second, Emperour of the *Turkes*: in which battell the King (his horse being first killed vnder him) was stricken downe and slaine, the *Popes* Bishops that were in the field to incourage the souldiers, fleeing to saue themselves fell into Bogges and Marishes, and there perished: *Iulianus* the Cardinall, which with the *Pope* was the chiefe doer in breaking the League, was found dead in the way, being full of wounds, and spoyled to his naked skinne, and all the ditches and trenches were filled with the blood of Christians: A memorable spectacle of Gods vengeance vpon the breach of oathes made euen to Infidels,

Discite iustitiam moniti, & non temnere Deos,

B. C.

15.

The deuill that intendeth the destruction as well of bodies as of soules, and of whole States as of particular men, doth not commonly beginne with mens bodies, and with matters of State, but being himselfe a Spirit, and the father of lies, hee doth first insinuate himselfe into mens understandings by false principles of religion: whereunto hee hath the more easie entrance, because hee hath perswaded their¹ governors to beleue, that it is no great matter what opinions men hold in matters of religion, so that they looke well into their actions, and keepe them in obedience: Which perswasion is all one, as if the enemy that besiegeth a citie, should perswade the garrison that they might surrender the Castle to

P

him

¹ Is not this? Romish opinion which holds it sufficient to beleue as Church beleues, so that they liue morally well? but for our selues we haue had experience, where our religion most preuaileth, and men are brought to the knowledge of the truth, there barbarisme & incivility are the more banished.

him well enough, and keepe the base towne to themselves. But when the devill hath prevailed so farre, as by the matters in the first truth, that is of religio, to get the vnderstanding in possession, which is the Castle, as it were, and watchtower of both the soule and bodie, and state, and all, hee will peradventure dissemble his purpose for a while, and by slander of the truth, and pleasing them with the trifles of the world (which by Gods permission are in his power)

² The words of the Poet are, *nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*

³ In stead of the arsenal, you should have said the Capitole.

make men beleue that the world is amended: For, ² *nemo repente fit pessimus*, but shortly after when hee seeth his time, hee will out of his ³ arsenal of false apprehensions in the vnderstanding, send forth such distorted engines of life and actions, as will easily subdne both bodies, and states, and goods, and all to his deuotion.

G. H.

15.

This Section together with your former (for any thing I can gather) serue onely to make a large Portall to a little Cottage, and wide Gates to a Citie that may runne out of it: you fetch a great swinge to strike a litle blow, and a full carriere to leape ouer a straw. It is throughout a mere flourish, & rather intended, as it seemes, to amaze the reader, as Mountebanks doe their hearers with arsenals of apprehensions, and distorted engines of actions, then to teach him the plaine and simple truth, scarce so good as a Metaphor, which I haue heard rendering to the contrary of yours, that if the *Faux* of our concupiscence, should once give fire to the powder of our appetite, it were likely to blowe up the Parliament house of our reason. The scope you driue at (as I conceiue) is this, that the vnderstanding being misinformed in religion, produceth answerable effects in the cōuersation, which we as easily grant as you vnnecessarily goe about to proue. The heathen Philosopher could tell vs, [*Si cui intueri vacet quæ faciunt, quæque patiuntur superstitiosi, inueniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos si cum paucioribus furerent: nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba.*

Sene. frag.

1f

If a man had the leifure to looke on those things, which men possessed with superstitious opinions, both doe and suffer, hee should find the busied about matters so vnbeseeeming honest minded men, so vnworthy of free & ingenuous spirits, so vnlike the effects of sober and settled braines, that a man would sweare they were starke mad, were but the number of them lesse that went a madding, whereas now the onely cloake to palliate and patronize their madnesse is, the multitude of mad men.] Which words sound to me, as if the marke they shoot at, had been the practise of the present Church of *Rome*, issuing from their false and superstitious opinions touching Gods worship: In which, whether we consider the things they doe in the administration of their Sacraments, about the reliques of dead men, in setting forth the feasts of our Sauour and the Saints, or what they suffer in Pilgrimages, in Penances, and the like, if the same things were acted but by fewe in number, which now by long custome and common consent are growen familiar to them, being practised by multitudes, I cannot iudge them so vnwise, but themselves if they stood by and looked on would iudge them mad. I haue heard of a *Turke*, who comming to *Rome*, and beholding their most abominable and licentious disorders at their *Carnualls*, and presently vpon it their counterfet sadnesse, and hanging downe their heads like a bulrush vpon Ashwednesday (so named for the ashes which they tooke) he conceiued that the sprinkling of ashes had bene a speciall remedie for the curing of madnes; but to the matter.

It is true indeed that where Idolatrie and vngodlinesse goeth before, there a *gining up to a reprobate sence and worldly lusts follow after*, as *S. Paul* rangeth them in his first to the *Romanes*, and his second to *Titus*: Yet on the other side it is as true, that vpon the putting away of a good conscience in the entertainment of *worldly lusts*, as often ensues a *shipwrake of Faith*, in opening a gappe to vngodlinesse, as we learne of the same Apostle, *1. Tim. 1.* I haue obserued it in mine owne experience, and so I thinke haue others, that few haue forsaken our Religion to imbrace the *Romane*, but such as haue bene first in their

liues notoriously deboshed, or extremely thirstie and ambitious of honour and preferment, beyond the opinion of other men, and their owne desert. And whether more *distorted engines of actions* be sent foorth from *the arsenall of Romish apprehensions*, or English, in regarde of Religion, let the barbarous *Massacre of France*, and the vntimely death of their *two last Henries*, the often attempts vpon the person of our late happie and famous *Queene*, and of late the damnable *Powder-treason* intended against our gracions SOVERAIGNE and the State, and lastly, the cruelty and ambition, the vnnaturall, and vnmeasurable lust, euen of those nations which are most zealous of the *Popes* greatnes, and are therefore accounted most Catholike, decide the controuersie.

It was a good answer which was returned by one of our side to a pretended Catholike, demaunding what reason hee had, not to imbrace that Religion: why saith hee? *Because it teacheth a man to eate his God, and kill his King.* And in any Religion whatsoeuer, it is not so much the knowledge of the truth, which maketh an honest and happie man, as the practise of that we know. The deuill himselfe when wee haue done our best, will know more then we: howbeit it is certaine wee must endeuour to know the will of God, before we can doe it, and therefore the good Angels are so much more foreward and constant in the execution of his wil then we, as they know it better then we: [** We see through a glasse darkely; but they face to face: Wee in part know; but they euen as they are knownen.*]

* 1. Cor. 13. 12.

B. C.

16.

The Caluinisticall preacher, when hee hath gotten his honest abused and misguided flocks about him, will cry out against mee for this Popish collection, and call God and them to witnesse, that he doth daily in his Sermons exhort men to good workes, and to obedience to the Kings MALESTIE: and am not I and my brethren (sayeth

* By this it appears you intended the publishing of your letter at the writing of it.

(sayeth he) as ² honest and as ciuill men as any Papist of them all? for mine owne part ³ I will not accuse any Caluinist though I could, neither can I excuse all Papists though I would: Iliacos inter muros peccatur & extra: But I must neuer forget that most true and wise obseruation, which the noble and learned ⁴ Sir Francis Bacon maketh in one of his first Essayes, viz. [that all ⁵ Schismatikes vtterly failing in the precepts of the first Table, concerning the Religion and worship of God, haue necessitie in policie to make a good shew of the second Table, by their ciuill and demure conuersation toward men: for otherwise they should as the first appeare to bee, as afterwards they shew themselves to be, altogether out of their ten Commandments: and so men would bee as much ashamed to follow them at the first, as they are at the last.] It is a sure rule of policie, that in euery mutation of State, the authors of the change will for a while shew themselves honest, rather of spite then of conscience, that they may disgrace those whome they haue suppressed: but it doth neuer hold in the ⁶ next generation. You scarce heare of a Puritan father, but his sonne ⁷ proues either a ⁸ Catholke, or an Atheist. Mutinous souldiers whiles the enemy is in the field will bee orderly, not for loue of their general; but for feare of their enemy: but if they be not held in the ancient discipline of warres, they will vpon the least truce or cessation quickly shew themselves.

quoted or commended by such as your selfe. ⁵ If they vtterly faile in the Precepts of the first Table, they may well be called Heretikes, rather then Schismatikes. ⁶ Since the first reformation, aboue a generation hath passed, and yet by your owne acknowledgement there remaine diuers very honest men euen among those whome you labour most to disgrace. ⁷ In your construction a Puritan and a Caluinist are reciprocal, and you make all the reformed *Netherlanders*, the *Helvetians*, the *French*, and the greatest part of the *English* to be Caluinists: so that the greatest part of all their sonnes must proue Papists or Atheists, or else your obseruation failes. ⁸ Reformers you tell vs before commonly degenerate in the next generation, and here you shew vs, how by turning Papists or Atheists, as if Papiſme, and Atheisme were so neere of kinne, or so resembling in condition, that the one might easily be mistaken, for the other; or the one prepared away to the other.

² M. Doctour himselfe in the 8. Section of his 1. Chapter. confesseth, that hee knoweth diuers very honest men of these Preachers.

³ Having made them before the Seed-men of Sedition, and Authours of all error in doctrine, and corruption in manners, it is then good time of day to tell vs you will not accuse them.

⁴ Sir Francis Bacon is more beholding to you for quoting his Essayes, then S. Matthe, for alledging his Gospell, or S. Paul for his Epistles: but I am sure he is too noble a Gentleman, to hold it any commendation to be

G. H.

16:

Whatsoeuer fond conceit your idle braine fancieth to it selfe, or your pen paints foorth to others, touching our Preachers whom you terme Caluinistical, we may freely speake it, and thanke God for it, that this Iland affords as many learned

P 3

sufficient.

sufficient Preachers, and that in a more substantiall conscionable fashion, then all the *Popes* hierarchie: it may seeme a bolde assertion, but he that in forraine parts hath seene, and obserued the apish action, and heard the ridiculous and vsauoury tales of their Friers, who are commonly their most famous Preachers, will vndoubtedly grant as much: Nothing so frequent with them as fictions against *Lutheranes*, and *Caluinists*, or fables out of their *golden legend*, deuised by *leaden braines*, and vttered by *brassen foreheads*: whereas the word of God, the only meanes of rightly informing the vnderstanding, and conuincing the conscience, they either vse not at all, or very sparingly, and that commonly in Latine, without quotation of verse or chapter, as if they feared indeede the people should haue too much knowledge of it, whereas S. Paul professeth that * [*hee had rather speake fiew words in the Congregation to the instruction of others, then tenne thousand in a strange tongue.*] But herein he scarce shewes himselfe a good Catholike, and a marueile it is the *index expurgatory* had not wipte it out. Now for the piece of the Sermon which you put into the Caluinistickall Preachers mouth, that *himselfe and his brethren and their flocks were as honest ciuill men, as any Papist of them all*, howsoeuer you are pleased to play the iester, and make your selfe merrie in such kind of flouting, yet I may truely say, and I thinke it will not be denied, that many of those preachers and their brethren, are honest men then the *Pope* and his brethren the Cardinals, whose excessiue pride and luxury, had it not beene counterballanced by the fained humility of the Friers, impossible it is that their kingdome could haue stood thus long, which made *Panigirolla* (as I suppose) when he came to speake of *Sanctam Ecclesiam* in his sermons at *Turin* in *Sauoy*, to fetch the word *sanctam* from *sancio*, *sancis*, *sancini*, distrusting as it seemes to proue the *Romish Church* the true Catholike by the marke of *sanctity* and holinesse, which he saw rather to agree to the *Caluinists* then to them; otherwise it was impossible hee should so childishly wrest the meaning of the Apostles, the ordinary sense of the Latine word, the onely sense of the Greeke word, and the common consent of all antiquity: And it seemes your

* 1. Cor. 14.

1 The same conceit hath Charon in his booke de treu verite, lib. 3, c. 12.

your selfe foresaw so much when you tell vs, *you could not excuse all Papists, though you would.* And for mending the matter, you presse vs with the authority of *Sir Francis Bacons Essayes, that all Schismarikes failing in the precepts of the first table, concerning the worship of God, haue necessity in pollicie to make a good shew of the second Table, by their ciuill and demure conuersation towards men:* But herein in my iudgement you doe that noble and learned gentleman (as you deseruedly stile him) some iniury in applying his obseruation (if it bee his) against the religion which himselfe professeth: whereas in trueth it fits it selfe more properly to your *Romish* Catholikes here at home among vs, who pretend some of them great shew of morall vertue and ciuill honesty, specially in matter of mortification and charitable workes, whereas they mangle the precepts of the first Table in their number, making of foure but three, and of those three they breake the first and second, in worshipping the Blessed Virgine, Angels, Saints, Reliques, Images with diuine worship, and in speciall the Crucifix and Sacramentall Bread, professedly with the same kind of worship which is due to Christ as God, and what account they make of the other two, their little reckoning of blaspheming and profaning Gods Name, and Gods day, giue but too sufficient demonstration to the world. But to bee plaine with you, I finde no such words in *Sir Francis Bacons Essayes* printed the yere 1612.

² which vpon this occasion I haue reuised, there beeing onely one of religion, and that the very first which speakes so wittily, so learnedly, so fully against your drift in this place, and the former section, which shewes how the deuill out of the *arsenall of false apprehensions*, sends forth the distorted engines of actions, (they be his owne words in that place:) as I cannot but hold it both a fence and a grace to insert it into mine answer whole and intire, (as himselfe hath deliuered it:) lest I should doe him iniury by mangling it.

[The quarrels and diuisions for religion, (saith hee) were euils ynknewen to the heathen: and no maruell, for it is the true God that

² I haue since found words to that purpose in his *Meditations sacra*, but not as M. Doctor quoteth them.

that is the ielous God, and the gods of the heathen were good fellowes: but yet the bounds of religious vnitie are so to bee strengthened, that the bounds of humane societie bee not dissolued. *Lucretius* the Poet when hee beheld the acte of *Agamemnon*, induring and assisting at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse,

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

But what would hee haue done if hee had knowen the *Massacre of France*, or the *Powder treason of England*? Certainly hee would haue been seuen times more Epicure and Atheist then hee was: nay, hee would rather haue chosen to haue been one of the mad men of *Munster*; then a partaker of those counsels: For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their pietie and charitie, retaining reason onely but as an Engine and Chariot-driuer of cruelty and malice. It was great blasphemie when the deuill sayd, I will ascend and bee like the highest: but it is a greater blasphemie, if they make God to say, I will descend and bee like the Prince of darke-nesse: And it is no better, when they make the

the cause of Religion descend to the execrable actions of the murthering of Princes, butchering of people, and firing of States; neither is there such a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in stead of the likenesse of a Doue, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a Vulture or Rauē; nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of S. Peter to set foorth the flagge of a Barge of Pyrats and Assassins. Therefore since these things are the common enemies of humane society, Princes by their power, Churches by their decrees, and all learning, Christian, Morall, of whatsoeuer Sect or opinion, by their *Mercurie rodde*, ought to ioyne in the damning to Hell for euer these facts, and their supports: and in all counsels concerning Religion, that counsell of the Apostle would be prefixed, [*Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei.*]

The same noble gentleman speaketh much to the same purpose in his *Essay of Superstition*, as [*that it erecteth an absolute tyrannie in the mindes of men, it hath been the confusion and dissolution of many States, and bringeth a new Primum mobile, that raniſbeth all the Spheres of gouernement. The master, saith hee, of Superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fooles, & arguments are fitted to practise in a reuerſed order.*]

Q

And

And thus I hope by this time M^r. Doctor hath gained little to the advantage of his cause from the true and wise observations of Sir Francis Bacon. Lastly, for your instance in *Mutinous souldiers*, I cannot conceiue whither your discourse tends, but to shew that more honestie is yet left amongst vs, then in those of your profession, and is like to bee as long as we feare the assault of a common enemy, which is like to bee as long as you remaine in opinion and condition like your selues.

B. C.

17.

And as for their exhortations to obedience to your Maiestie, when they haue first infected the understanding of your Subiects with such principles of rebellion, as haue disturbed and overthrowen all other States where they had their will, it is a ridiculous thing to thinke upon such exhortations, and all one as if a fantastick fellow finding a ¹ herd of young cattell in a close, should first breake downe the hedges, and then cry aloud to the cattell, they doe not venture to goe out, not seeke any fatter Pasture, for feare they bee put in the pound, and if they chance to feede where they are, because they haue no experience of other, and to tary in the Close for an houre or two, then the unhappie fellow should runne to the honour of the cattell, and tell him what great seruice hee had done him, and how hee had kept his cattell in the Close by his goodly ² charmes & exhortations. Let them say what they list, of their own honesty, and of their exhortations to obedience, ³ as long as they doe freely infect the peoples soules with such false opinions in religion, they do certainly sowe the seedes of disobedience & rebellion in mens understandings, which if they bee not preuented by your Maiesties giuing way to Catholike religion, will in all likelihood spring up in the next generation to the great preiudice and molestation of your MAIESTIE, and your posteritie; so that whether I doe respect heauen or earth, mine owne soule or the seruice of your Maiestie, God or your neighbours, or your subiects, my assured hope is that by ioyning my selfe to the Catholike Church, I neither haue done nor shall doe any ill duty or seruice vnto your Maiestie.

G. H.

¹ You tell vs before of sure rules in policie, and mutinous Souldiers, and here you shewe your skill in Cowherdship, that wee may know you are aliquid in quolibet, though nihil in toto.

² Notwithstanding those charmes your Romish Catholiks cannot be kept within their bounds, charme the charmer neuer so wisely.

³ Adulatio nominis de tuis fabula narratur.

G. H.

17.

You ſay that *our* exhortations to obedience are ridiculous, the *underſtanding being once infected with ſuch principles of rebellion as wee teach*: Had you vouchſafed to haue ſtooped to the nominating of thoſe *principles* in particular, you had dealt ingenuouſly, and giuen ſome matter of reply: but as you would ſhew your ſelfe a politician in the whole body of your diſcourſe, ſo doe you ſpecially in this, that throughout you inſiſt vpon vniuerſals, which not onely dazell the eyes of their vulgar Reader, but yeelde ſtarting holes of euafion to the author. What your *Principles* are, and what ours touching obedience to the ciuill Magiſtrate, I haue already opened in mine answer to the *twelfth and thirteenth Sections of this Chapter*. Now the remedie, you ſay, to prevent the miſchiefe likely to enſue vpon ſuch doctrine, is, *the admiſſion of Catholike religion*, as if wee neuer heard nor read of any rebellion abroad nor at home raiſed from the profeſſours of that religion during the ſpace of a thouſand ſixe hundred yeeres, for ſo long you ſay hath it laſted, whereas in trueth, if that be true, where our religion hath yeelded one rebell (to ſpeake within compaſſe) yours hath yeelded a thouſand: and if the *Principles* of our religion, as the caſe now ſtands, induce men to rebellion, ſurely in common reaſon it ſhould much rather doe ſo, if a contrary be once admitted to confront it: So that whiles you pretend to perſwade his *Maieſtie* to the ſafeſt courſe, you ad-
viſe him in all likelihood to the moſt dangerous. Whether his *Maieſtie* then reſpect heauen or earth, his neighbours abroad or his Subjects at home, his ſecureſt courſe will bee to maintaine and allow that onely religion which he profeſſeth, and conſequently in labouring to draw him to the contrary you cannot but doe him very ill ſeruice.

Q 2

B. C.

B. C.

18.

But perhaps there is such opposition both in matter of doctrine and matter of State, as it is impossible that ever there should be any reconciliation at all betwixt the Church of England and the Church of Rome; of which I humbly pray your Maiestie to give mee leaue to shew to you what I haue obserued.

G. H.

18.

Your imaginary possibility of reconciling England with Rome, is a fond speculation of an idle braine, and nothing else but a Castle built in the ayre, whether we consider (as a later writer of our owne hath well obserued) ¹ the indisposition of the parties, or the qualitie of the Controuerfies, or the difficultie of the meanes. For the first of which were we neuer so peaceably disposed, yet such a stiffe auerseness there is in the Romanists, that they suffer not their adherents to ioyne with vs in any religious exercise, against which notwithstanding themselves can no way except. They excommunicate their Subiects who trauell or traffique into our countreys; they straightly charge them not to reade or keepe any of our Bookes, though meerey tending to the practise of piety, no nor the Bible it selfe, without speciall leaue, though of their owne translation: And for vs, they esteeme no better of vs then of *Jewes* or *Turkes*; nay to the *Jewes* they allow Synagogues within Rome it selfe, whereas vs they persecute with fire and sword; and for the *Turkes* they hold their *Alcoran* in nothing inferior, and in some things much better then our religion, or our Translation of the Bible: No maruaile then though *Cassander* by labouring to mediate a reconcilement, howbeit hee were set a worke by *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, both Emperors, hath carried away blowes on both sides, which it seems *Bellarmin* in his 3. booke and 19. Chap. of *Laicks*, thought he well

¹ D. Hall in his
Roma irreconcili-
abilis.

well deſerued, helping to lay on loades vpon him. *The ſecond* thing that makes vs irreconcilable, is *the qualitie of our controuerſies*, they being not verball differences, as ſome would haue, but materiall, and that of the higheſt nature, no leſſe then the redemption of mankind, and the iuſtification of a ſinner, but aboue all that (vpon which the reſt depend) of the Biſhop of *Romes* power in iudging and determining infallibly of all controuerſies ariſing in matter of religion, wee may bee ſure they will euer while they are able, without yeelding an inch, as ſtiffely maintaine, as wee iuſtly oppugne: which the lateſt writings of their Ieſuites haue given vs ſo ſufficient occaſion (by aduancing and enlarging this power to the vtmoſt) to bee confident of, that wee neede make no farther doubt of that matter. *The third* thing which makes vs irreconcilable is *the difficultie in the meanes of reconcilment*, which in the iudgement of the wiſeſt is in likelihood the definition of a generall Council, or nothing. But who ſhall call this Council? and preſcribe the time and place of meeting, and perſons that ſhall meeete? who ſhall ſit as President in it? what ſhall be the rule of diſputing? and meanes of executing what is determined? we ſhal need a former Council to define.

B. C.

19.

It is true that the breach hath continued now theſe many yeres, and it is much increaſed by ſo long continuance: ſo that it was neuer greater then it ſeemes to be at this day, nor neuer more dangerous to deale withall. For if a man doe but goe about to ſtop it, there ariſeth preſently a great and fearefull noiſe, and roaring of the waters againſt him; but yet neuer theleſſe the greatneſſe of the noiſe ought not to diſcourage vs; but rather to giue vs hope, that though it bee wide, yet it is but ſhallow, and not farre from the bottome, as proceeding from affection, which is ſudden and violent, and not from iudgement, which is quiet, conſtant, and alwayes like it ſelfe. For if a man aſke in colde blood, whether a Romane Catholike may be ſaued, the moſt learned Churchman will not denie it; and if a man

1 If others might be good Subjects, your selfe could not be so, in as much as, in the last Sect. of the 1. cha. you confesse, that living in England, you could not chooſe but bee guilty of the breach of many of our Statutes.

ask whether a Roman Catholike may be a good Subject, the most wise Statef-man will easily grant it. May we be both saved? then we are not divided in God, May wee be both good Subjects? then we are not divided in the King. What reason is there then that we should be thus horribly and vnplacably divided?

G. H.

19.

The increase of the reformed Churches (which you call a breach) so that their strength was neuer greater, nor more dangerous to deale withall then at this day; though the disciples of Rome grieue and gnash their teeth at it, and consume away to see it, yet haue we good reason to thanke God for it, in as much as neither the deuill, nor the Pope, neither Rome nor the gates of Hell with all their bloodie Persecutions, their holy Leagues, and mischeiuous Combinations, could euer yet preuaile against it: Nay hitherto, the more they haue laboured to quench it, and trample it vnder foot, the more hath it shined like a bright torch, and flourished as the Palme tree, which the more it is pressed downe, the more it spreadeth. Their blood hitherto hath prooued the seede of the Church, and that which S. Augustine speakes of the first Christians may be verified of them, [*they were mangled, they were scourged, they were stoned, they were burned, they were multiplied,*] and because you cannot with all your malice and power and policie destroy it, we argue with Gamaliel that it is from God: neither can you iustly call that sudden or violent, which as your selfe before confesse hath now continued these many yeeres, and hath increased by continuance, whereas sudden things in their ordinary course, and by discourse of reason last little, and by continuance rather decrease, it being proper only to naturall motions to gather strength and fortifie themselves in going. And for that great roaring of the waters which you pretend, though it be a noise fearefull to you, yet to vs is it acceptable, as being occasioned not so much from the shallownesse of the waters themselves, as from the stoppings and opposition of others,

others, and their own concurrence, to remoue and beare down by all lawfull meanes that which is opposed for the stopping of their current.

But the reason which you adde why wee should thinke them *shallow*, as proceeding rather from affection then iudgement, is this, because if a man aske (you say) in cold blood, whether a Roman Catholike may be saued, the most learned Churchman will not denie it: Wherein if we be more charitable to you, then you are to vs, in passing censures of damination, it should in my iudgement rather argue the goodnesse of that Religion from whence such charity flowes towards mens persons, then be vrged as a prooffe for the approbation of that erroneous doctrine, which in it selfe it condemns. The *Turke* is too liberall in admitting all Religions to the hope of saluation, and on the other side you are too niggardly and sparing in shutting out all from the hope thereof, which receiue not the marke of the beast in their foreheads or hands. We desiring to runne a middle course betwixt both extremes, as we shut out all such who directly deny the merits of CHRIST: so doe wee passe a fauourable censure on those who deny him not of malice, but of ignorance, and that not directly but by consequence. It is true that S. Paul hath in the fifth to the *Galatians*, [*If yee be circumcised CHRIST shall profit you nothing*,] That is, if a man put his trust in Circumcision, or in any thing else beside *Christ*, (though with *Christ*) in the matter of iustification, he is abolished from *Christ*, and the merite of his death and Passion. Now what confidence the Romanists put in their owne satisfaction for veniall sinnes and temporall punishment, either in this life or in *Purgatorie*, due to mortall, their writings testifie: but yet our assurance is, that many of them when they come to make their last account betwixt God and their owne Conscience, and thoroughly consider of the weakenesse and corruption of their owne nature, for the vncertaintie of their owne proper righteousness, and for the avoiding of vaine glory, according to *Bellarmins* aduise, they rest wholly in the alone mercie and goodnesse of God, renouncing in particular that merite of worke which their Church in generall for her owne aduantage main-

maintaineth, and teacheth them to maintaine. Or lastly God of his Gracioufnesse may accept of their repentance for vnknown sins, and consequently for their erroneous opinions, which by reason of their education they vnwittingly imbrace; yet this charitable construction of ours can bee no sufficient warrant for vs, either to shut our eyes against a knowen truth, or to open our eares to hearken to any motion of reconciliation to a knowen error.

Now whether a *Romane Catholike* may bee a good subiect, wholly submitting himselfe to *Romish* positions, I referre the reader to his *Maiesties* speech in Parliament in the yeere 1605 (who should know what belongs to his owne state) and to mine answer, to the 12. Sect. of this Chapter; a part of his *Maiesties* very words in that speech are these: [*I therefore doe thus conclude this point, that as vpon the one part many honest men seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remaine good & faithfull subiects: so vpon the other part none of those that truly knowe and beleue the whole grounds and schoole conclusions of their doctrine, can euer prooue good Christians or faithfull subiects.*] If then we bee so farre diuided both in God and in the king, how can we but be vtterly diuided in our selues?

1 Of this ranke was M. Doctour, as appeareth in the 19. Sect. of his first Chap. where he promisseth to iustifie all the present doctrine of the Church of Rome from point to point,

B. C.

20.

Truely there is no reason at all, but onely the violence of affection, which being in a course, cannot without some force be stayed: The multitude doth seldome or neuer indge according vnto truth. but according vnto customes, and therefore hauing bene bred and brought up in the hatred of Spaniards and Papists, cannot chuse but thinke they are bound to hate them still, and that whosoever speaketh a word in fauour of the Church of Rome or of Catholike religion, is their vtter enemy: and the Puritanicall Preacher who can haue no being in charity, doth neuer cease by falsifications and slanders to blow the coales that hee may burne them, and warme himselfe.

But if your Maiesty shall euer bee pleased to commaund those
make-

1 Here your rules of policy failed you, in as much as violence of affection is rather by time to be qualified, then withstood by force.

2 Who they are that blow the coales for the burning of others, and warming of themselves, if I were silent, the stones of the Parliament house would speake.

make-bates to hold their peace a while, and to say nothing, but that they are able to proue by sufficient authority before those that are able to iudge, and in the meantime to admit a³ conference of learned and moderate men on either side, the people who are now abused, and with the light of the Gospel held in extreme ignorance, are not yet so incapable, but they will be glad to heare of the trueth when it shall be⁴ simply and evidently deliuered by honest men; and then they will plainly see that their light of the Gospel, which they so much talke of, is but a counterfeited light in atheenes lanternes, whereby honest mens eyes are⁵ dazeled, and their purses robbed: and it will also appeare, that there is not indeed any such⁶ irreconcilable opposition betwixt the Church of England and the Church, as they that liue by the schisme doe make the world beleene there is, neither in matter of doctrine, nor in matter of State.

3 You might haue done well to haue perswaded the Pope or the King of Spaine, to haue held such a conference in their dominions.

4 How simply and evidently your Postillers and Friers vse to deliuer the trueth in their Sermons, we are not ignorant, but whom you should mean by your honest men, but your

selfe and your companions, we know not. 5 Who they are that dazell mens eyes, and robbe their purses, your glorious outside in Gods worship, and your infinite trickes to get money, sufficiently testifie. 6 How reconcilable the differences betweene vs are, I haue declared in mine answer to the 18. Sect. of this chap.

G. H.

20.

You farther endeouour to prooue in the entrance of this Section, that the diuision of the Church of England from the Church of Rome ariseth rather from affection then iudgement, in as much as the multitude doth seldome or neuer iudge according to trueth: but according vnto customes. Now whether it be the Church of England or the Church of Rome that stands vpon multitude, and that multitude vpon custome, the Bishop of Rome himselfe shall be the iudge; nay not onely your multitude, but the chiefe pillars of your Church stand most vpon it: if you had but looked into your great¹ Cardinals notes of your Church, you should haue found antiquity or custome to haue beene the second, howbeit both² Acosta and³ Xauierius in their seuerall writings made the Indians standing vpon their customes, the chiefe difficulty of their conuersion to CHRIST. It was Symmachus the Pagans argument in his Epistle to Theodosius the Emperour, recorded by⁴ S. Ambrose: [Seruanda est tot seculis fides

1 Lib. 4. de milis. Eccles. cap. 5.

2 De salute Indorum, lib. 2. c. 18.

3 Lib. 4. epist. 1.

4 Lib. 5. epist. 30.

R

nostra.

nostra, & sequendi sunt maiores nostri, qui secuti sunt feliciter suos. Our religion which hath now continued so many yeeres is still to bee retained, and our ancestours are to bee followed by vs, who happily traced the steps of their forefathers;] and is not this Mr. Doctors owne argument to perswade his Maiesty to the Romish religion in the 2. and 10. Sect. of this Chapter, how comes it then to passe that in this place he findes fault with those that iudge according to custome, and makes it a popular error? teach that a while, and indeed we may be brought to shake handes with Rome, she standing vpon a pretended truth of antiquity, but we vpon the antiquity of trueth, in as much as our Saviour said not, I am antiquity, but I am trueth: And S. Cyprian his blessed Martyr, *Antiquity without truth, is nothing els but ancient error.* Now the reason you giue that our multitude iudge according to custome, is because that *they beeing bred and brought vp in the hatred of Spaniards and Papists, can not choose but thinke they are bound to hate them still.* Wee might giue the same reason with more shew of truth, of your multitude, trained vp in the hatred of those who you call Lutheranes and Calvinists, whom they are taught to hate more then ours, either a Spaniard or Papist; which two, what reason you haue to couple together, I vnderstand not, except it be to iustifie the front of Puentes his booke, Chronieler to the King of Spaine, which sets forth Rome as the Sunne, with this inscription, *Luminare maius vt presit vrbi & orbi*, and Spaine as the Moone, with this, *Luminare minus vt subdatur vrbi, & dominetur orbi*, ouer both is written, *Fecit Deus duo magna luminaria*; and in the midst betweene both are the armes of Rome and Spaine knit together, with this motto, *In vinculo pacis*, vnder the one is set Rome as a conquerour, and vnder the other Spaine as a warriour, both supporting betweene them the ball of the world, vnder which is this title:

[Tomo Primero de la conueniencia de las
dos Monarquias Catholicas la de la Iglesia
Romana, y la del Imperio Espanol, &c.]

Neither are we ignorant who they are that doe not whisper it in corners, but publish it to the world in their bookes, that

GOD MADE TWO GREAT LIGHTS
 The greater to be the
 Sovereign of the
 City, and the
 World.
 in the world of the
 World.
 by the City, and the
 World.
 The lesser to be the
 Sovereign of the
 City, and the
 World.

THE FIRST VOLUME OF
 THE CONVENIENCE OF THE
 TWO CATHOLIKE MONARCHIES
 THAT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME
 and the other of the Spanish Empire: With a Defence
 of the Precedence of the Catholike King
 of Spain, before all the Kings
 of the World.

TO THE MOST GLORIOUS
 PHILIPPO ERMENIGILDO
 LORD, EMPEROR OF THE KINGDOMS OF
 SPAIN, AND SENIOR OF THE GREAT
 COUNCIL OF CASTILE, AND OF THE
 CATHOLIKE CHURCH.

AUTHOR, MR. FELIX DE LAS PUELAS,
 OF THE ORDER OF THE PREDICANTS, CHRONICLER TO THE CATHOLIKE
 KING, AND OF THE CHURCH OF CASTILE.
 We have the true resemblance of the
 SPAIN

ROME
 IN THE YEAR
 At Madrid: Printed by
 Miguel de Guadalupe

GOD MADE TWO GREAT LIGHTS.

☉ The greater, to be the
Soueraigne of the
City, and the
World.

The lesser, to be ruled
by the City, and to
ouer-rule the
World.

IN THE BOND OF PEACE

THE FIRST VOLVME OF
THE CONVENIENCIE OF THE
TVO CATHOLIKE MONARCHIES;
THAT, OF THE CHVRCH OF ROME,
and the other, of the Spanish Empire: With a Defence
of the Precedencie of the Catholike KINGS
of SPAIN E, before all the KINGS
of the World.

TO THE MOST GLORIOUS
PHILIPPO ERMENIGILDO OVR
LORD, EMPEROVR OF THE KINGDOMES OF
SPAINE, AND SENIOR OF THE GREA-
test Monarchie that euer hath bene amongst men, from the
Creation of the World, to this age.

AUTHOR, Mr. Fr. IVAN *de la Puente*, of the
Order of the Predicants, Chronicler to the Catholick
Maiestie, Calificador to the Inquisition, and Prior
of S. Thomas in Madrid. 1612.

We haue the true resemblances of royall linages.

R O M E

S P A I N E

P.P.
fe.

IN MVTVALL AYDE.

At MADRID, Out of the
Kings Print.

FEKIT DEVS DVO LVMINARIA MAGNA

Luminare minus
et prefit Urbi
et Orbi

Luminare minus
et subdatur urbi et
dominetur orbi



TOMO PRIMERO DE LA
comuencencia de las dos Monarquias Catolicas la de
la Iglesia Romana y la del Imperio Espanol y defenfa
de la Precedencia de los Reyes Catolicos de Espanna
a todos los Reyes del Mundo.

AL GLORIOSISIMO FILIPO
Ermengildo nuestro Sennor Emperador
de las Espanas y Señor de la maior Mon:
arquia que antenido los hombres des de
la creacion hasta el Syglo presente.

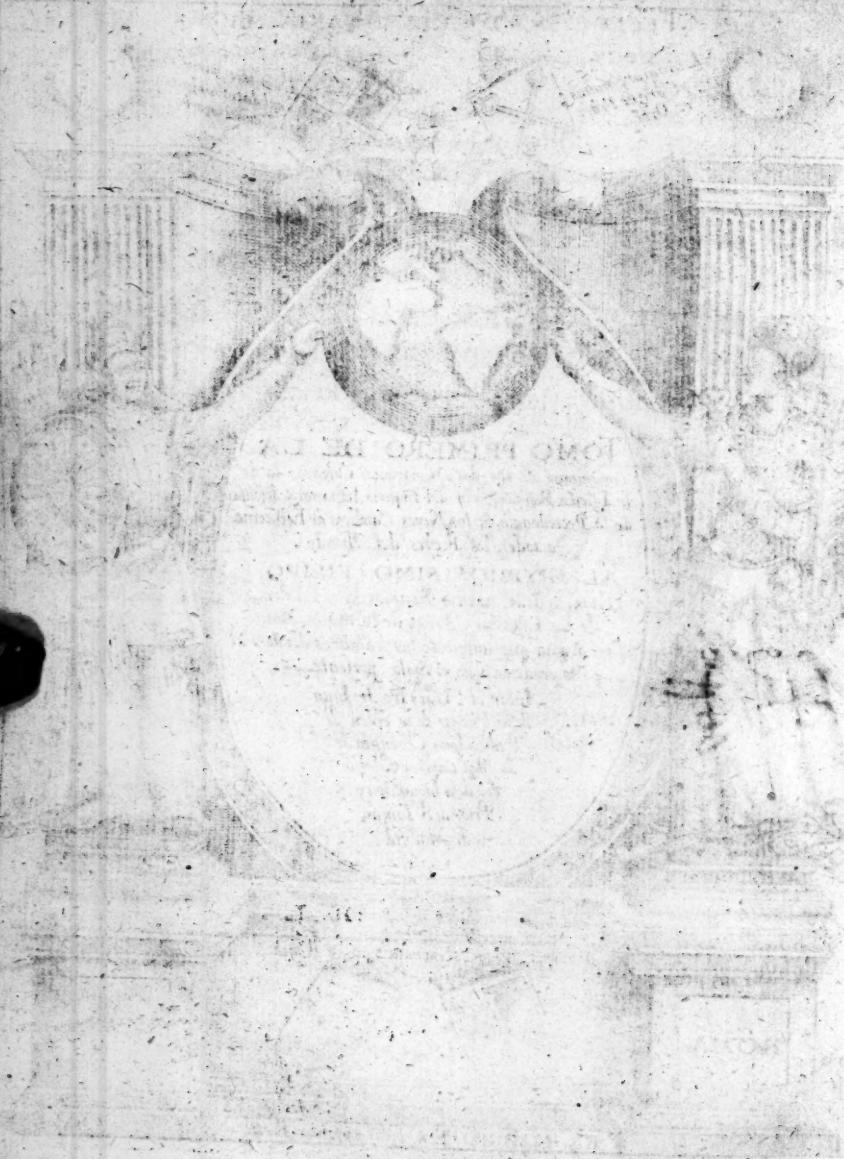
Autor el Macsbro fr. Iuan
de la Puente de la orden de
Predicadores Chronista de
la Mag Catolica Califica:
dor dela Inquisicion y
Prior de S. Tomas
de Madrid.

1612.

ROMA

ESPAÑA

EN MADRID En la Imprenta Real.



TOMO PRIMERO DE LA

Historia de la Republica de Colombia
por el Sr. Don Juan Manuel de Rosas

En la Ciudad de Bogota

En el año de 1826

En el mes de Mayo

En el dia de San Juan

En el punto de vista

En el campo de batalla

En el momento de la victoria

En el momento de la derrota

En el momento de la paz

En el momento de la guerra

En el momento de la truce

En el momento de la tregua

En el momento de la paz

En el momento de la guerra

En el momento de la truce

En el momento de la tregua

as there is one head who guides all in spirituall: so there should bee but one (to doe well) in all Christendome to gouerne all in ciuill affaires: and not vnlikely Mr. Doctor, when he thus ioyned Spaniards and Papists together, might secretly ayme at some such matter, and yet are not the Pope and the Spaniard so firmly vnited betweene themselves, but that Charles the V. was content to winke (at least) at the sacking of Rome by Charles Bourbon, then vnder his pay: and Phillip the II. his sonne, being one of the pretenders to the Crowne of Portugall, refused to stand to his Holinesse arbitrement in the decision of that controuersie: and they both while they liued were, and this present king yerely is accursed, at least inclusiuely, for withholding the kingdomes of Naples and Sicilie, as being of right, parts of S. Peters patrimonie.

See Lipsius in the conclusion of his booke de Mag. Rem.

But all that is obiected against the Papists or Spaniards, are in your account the falsifications and slanders of puritanicall Preachers, howbeit, who they are that labour by that meanes to disgrace their opposites, let the Pictures forged and printed, of our fained persecutions, in couering your Catholikes with Beareskinnes, and baiting them with dogs testifie, and your reports which my selfe haue heard from your Friars in their Pulpits of our strange barbarisme, as well in manners as religion, as if no sparke of ciuilitie, or knowledge of God, were left amongst vs. It is your practise, if not your doctrine, *Calumniare audacter. semper aliquid heret: Bee bold to lay on loads with slandering, somewhat will alwaies sticke to;* though the wound be closed and cured, some scarre will euer remaine: though a man purge himselfe neuer so sufficiently, yet such is the nature of slander, that it runnes faster, and spreads farther then the purgation. Many who heard the one, neuer heard of the other; or if they heard it, through malice and naturall corruption they more willingly hold fast and entertaine the one, then the other. I haue heard it credibly reported, that a Spaniard comming to Oxford, and seeing the Trinitie pictured (long agoe) in the Diuinitie schoole window, he wondred at it, considering hee had been taught by their Preachers that wee denied and blasphemed the Trinitie. And here the Pam-

phlet written and published of *Bezais* death and revolt, which him selfe liued to answer with *Bezaredimus*, though it bee famously knowen, yet it is not amisse to reuiue it, being so notable and shamelesse an imposture.

Touching your motion to his *Maiestie* for the silencing of those Preachers, vpon whom, for speaking freely against the abuses of the Church of *Rome*, you bestow the liuerie of *Make-bates*, it is not vnlike for the manner of it to *Philips* capitulating with the *Athenians*, that for the better negotiating of a peace, they would be content for a while to deliuer ouer their Orators into his custodie: But *Demosthenes* finding himselfe to be chiefly interested in that businesse, told his citizens that it was as much, as if the wolues should desire to haue the dogs in their keeping that guarded the sheepe. His Holinesse may permit and countenance, and by rewards incourage his Iesuites and Friars to speake and write what they list of Kings & Princes, and namely, of his *Maiestie*, our most renowned *Soueraigne*, (witnesse the railings and slanders of *Pacinius*, *Christanouse*, *Becanus*, *Coqueus*, *Eudemion*, *Schoppin*, *Rebullus*, *Parsons*, *Coffeteau*, *Peletier*, *Gretser*,) their pennes may walke at libertie, their tongues are theirs they ought to speake, what Lord shall them controll: But his *Maiestie* shall doe well to bridle and re-straine his most painefull and duetifull Ministers, who stand in the watch-tower, and keepe Sentinell to discerie the incurfions of the enemie, and to discover such false Prophets as come to vs in sheepes clothing, but within are rauening wolues: or if they bee not silenced, they must say nothing but what they are able to prooue by sufficient authority, before those that are able to iudge; as if our Bishops were ignorant that it belonged to their charge to take notice of the preaching of vsound doctrine within their Diocesse, and accordingly to censure it, or knowing what is their duety in that behalfe, they were more vnwilling or vnable to performe it, then Doctor *Carier*, and his Colledge of Critickes; and in the meane time a conference must be had of learned and moderate men on either side, such belike as your selfe, like *Metius Suffetius*, luke-warme, halting betwixt two opinions, rowing to the shore and looking

to the Sea, holding with the hare and running with the hound, who publicly pray for *the King*, and priuately worke for *the Pope*: true learning we reuerence, and *Christian moderation* we highly esteeme; but * *Science falsely so called*, bent to the patronage of falsehood and neutralitie, vnder the vizard of *moderation*, to the reconciling of error to trueth, is but the abusing of faire and honourable Titles, to base and malicious ends, which imputation you labour to fasten vpon vs, as if by the light of the Gospel we held the people in extreme ignorance, whereas the Prophet *Dauid* tels vs, that * *the word of the Lord was a lanterne to his feete, and a light vnto his pathes*: and *S. Peter*, * *You haue a most sure word of the Prophet, to which you doe well that you take heede as vnto a light that shineth in a darke place*; but you beare vs in hand, that the light of the Gospel holds men in extreame ignorance. *Zachary* prophesied of his sonne the Baptist, that * *he was ordained to giue light to them that sit in darkenesse and in the shadow of death, to guide their feete into the way of peace*, and the Baptist himselfe of *CHRIST*, that he was * *that true Light which lighteth euery man that cometh into the world*: But you tell vs, that it serues to dazell mens eyes, and rob their purses: And no doubt, had you liued among the Pharisees in the time of *CHRIST*, or *John the Baptist*, you would haue called their doctrine a counterfeit light in a theenes lanterne, as wel as ours, being in substance the same with theirs. And for ignorance, I may bee bolde to say it, with a thankfull acknowledgement to God for it, that a good part of our people are more expert in the Scriptures, and are better able to yeeld an account of that faith which is in them, then many of your Prelates and Priests, whereof some beare the name of the brotherhood of ignorance, and all (at least by your practise) acknowledge her the mother of deuotion, in as much as you * *withhold the trueth in vnrightheousnesse*: like *Esops* dog, you neither eate hay your selues nor suffer others to eate it: You pretend the key of Knowledge, but you neither enter in your selues nor suffer others to enter; you neither reade nor esteem the Scriptures your selues as you ought, nor suffer the people to reade them, but scale them vp in an vnknown language to the vse of a few, with who you please to dispense.

* 1. Tim. 6. 20.

* Psal. 119. 105.

* 2 Pet. 1. 19.

* Luke. 1. 79.

* John 1. 9.

* Rom. 1. 18.

B. C.

21.

For matter of doctrine there is no reason that your Maiestie or the Kingdome should be molested or burthened for the mainetenance of Caluinisme, ¹ which is as much against the Religion of England, as it is against the Religion of Rome, and will by necessarrie consequence overthrow not onely ² the Catholike Church, the Communion of Saints, and the forgiveness of sinnes, but also all the Articles of the Creede, saue onely so much as the ³ Turke himselfe will be content to beleue, which will be easie to proue upon better ⁴ leaseure.

The doctrine of England which is contained in the Common prayer booke, and Church Catechisme, confirmed by act of Parliament, and by your Maiesties Ediēt, wherein all Englishmen are ⁵ baptized, and ought to be confirmed, and therefore there is some reason that this should be stood upon.

But this doctrine, in most of the maine points therof, as hath bene ⁶ touched before, and requireth a ⁷ iust Treatise to set downe in particular, doth much differ from the current opinions and Catechismes of Caluinisme; doth very neere agree with, or at least not ⁸ contradiēt the Church of Rome, if wee list with ⁹ patience to heare one another, and those points of doctrine, wherein wee are ¹¹ made to be at warres with the Church of Rome, whether wee will or not, doe rather argue the ¹² corruptions of the State, from whence they come, then are argued by the grounds of that Religion whereupon they stand, and the contradiction of doctrine hath followed the alteration of State, and not the alteration of State bene groundd upon any trneth of doctrine.

¹ A most notorious varruth, if by Caluinisme you vnderstand Caluins doctrine.

² How Caluins doctrine overthrowes all these, or any of these, let his bookes testifie.

³ Will the Turke beleue Christ to haue bene the Sonne of God by eternall generation? or to haue bene conceived by the holy Ghost? or to haue risen from the graue by his owne power the third day after his buriall? or visibly to haue ascended into heauen? or that from thence hee shall returne againe, to iudge the quicke and the dead? or is Caluin charged by any aduersary to overthrow any of these, so much as by consequence? where then is M. Doctors moderation? ⁴ I thinke we shall expect long before that leaseure be offered. ⁵ If all English men, then your selfe were baptised in that doctrine, in which notwithstanding you were not confirmed as you ought, or at least wise it was not sufficiently confirmed in you. ⁶ It was touched indeed but not proued. ⁷ That iust treatise will proue nothing els but an vnjust calumnie, if by Caluinisme you vnderstand Caluins doctrine. ⁸ My Table of comparison here annexed to mine answer, will manifest many plaine contradictions, and that in the mainest points of doctrine. ⁹ Wee professe the patience of dooues, but not of asses, such as you would proue vs to bee, if you make vs in that to beleue what you promise to proue. ¹⁰ It is the obstinacie of the Church of Rome, that inforcth vs to be at warres with her. ¹¹ Whether the contradiction of the doctrine (which you here confesse, but denyed before) rather argue the corruptions of State, from whence they come, then are argued by the grounds of that Religion, whereupon they stand, we shall haue fitter opportunitie to examine in the Sections following.

G. H.

G. H.

21.

We are now come to one of the maine points you driue at (howbeit you ſeeme onely to glance at it in paſſage, and to draw it on vpon the bye) which is to put vs off from all fellowſhip and communion with thoſe Churches, who acknowledge *Caluin* to haue beene an excellent inſtrument of God, in the abolishing and ſuppreſſing of Poperie, and the clearing and ſpreading of his trueth, that ſo being ſeparated from them, we may either ſtand ſingle and be encountred alone, or returne againe to our old bias, and relaps vpon *Rome*, and ſo through *Caluins* ſides you ſtrike at the throat and heart of our Religion: For our parts, we all wiſh with the Reuerend & learned¹ Prelate of our owne Church, that you were no more *Papiſts* then wee *Caluiſts*, no more pind on the *Popes* ſleeue, then we on *Caluins*, who² we eſteeme as a worthy man, but a man, and conſequently ſubieſt to humane error, and frailtie. We maintaine nothing with him becauſe he affirms it, but becauſe from infallible grounds he proues it; whereas the *Popes* bare aſſertion with you is prooſe ſufficient. You are ſo ſworne to his words, that they are of equal or higher authoritie with you then *Pythagoras* his precepts with his Schollers, *ipſe dixit*, is enough for your warrant: but for vs, we imbrace *Caluin* as himſelfe doth authors not diuine, *uſque ad aras*, ſo farre foorth as with diuine hee accoꝛdeth, and no farther. This is our iudgement of *Caluin*: but to ſay that the doctrine which he maintaines, is as much againſt the Religion of *England*, as it is againſt that of *Rome*, is a deſperate aſſertion, and ſuch as can neuer be made good, did all our fugitives lay their heads together, and were all their wits turned into one. And I much meruaile what you meant, pretending ſo much tenderneſſe of conſcience, and diligence in ſearch of the trueth, to ſuffer your malice ſo farre to preuaile vpon your iudgment, as to let ſo foule a blot, ſo manifeſt a falſhood to drop from your pen, and not only ſo; but to

preſent

¹ My Lord of Ely.

present it to the scanning of so learned a Prince, and to publish it to the view and censure of the world: For if *Caluins* doctrine bee as opposite to our Religion as to the *Romish*, then must it needs follow that either ours and the *Romish* agree in one: or that ours is as distant from *Caluins* as *Caluins* is from the *Romish*; both which to bee vnttrue appeares aswell by the testimonie of all other *Romish* writers, and the authority of the Pope himselfe in his *Bull* against *Queene ELIZBAETH*, as those whome they terme *Lutherans*, who ² euer range vs among the *Caluinists*, as also of our owne writers, and those of forraine Churches by you termed *Caluinistical*, because with him they ioyne in profession of the same trueth: the manifold ³ Letters by them writtē, and Bookes dedicated to our late blessed *Queene*, our Bishops and Noble men, by *French* and *Heluetian* Diuines, specially of *Zurich* and *Basil*, testifie to the world, that they then held their religion to bee the same with ours, and ours with theirs: and for any thing I know, neither theirs nor ours is since changed, saue onely some such neutrals as your selfe labour to drawe vs neerer to *Rome* then they can bee drawn, or the trueth it selfe will permit that wee should.

Among many other testimonies I will onely instance in two, the one an *Heluetian* touching our conformitie with forreine reformed Churches in former times, the other a *French* man touching the present: the *Heluetian* is *Bullinger*, who dedicating his Commentaries vpon *Daniel* to *Horne*, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Iewell*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Sandes*, Bishop of *Worcester*, *Parkhurst*, Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Pilkington*, Bishop of *Durham*, in his Epistle Dedicatory professeth hee did it chiefly to this ende, that posterity might vnderstand their indissoluble knot of friendship, and the mutual consent betweene England and *Suifferland* in matter of Religion, howbeit they were remooued farre asunder in situation of place. The *French* is *Peter Monlin*, who in defence of his *Maiesties* Booke against *Coffeteau* acknowledgeth that wee had enough sufficient men of our owne to defend the Cause, but that hee undertooke the worke to let the world knowe, that the same Confession which his *Maiestie* had made

¹ The words of the Bull are these, *Impia mysteria & insinua ad Caluini praescriptum a se suscepta & obseruata etiam a subditis seruari mandauit.*

² Obserue their yearly Catalogues that come from the Mart of *Frankford*.

³ I haue in mine hands Letters written fro *Beza* to Archbishop *Wharfe*, and from him againe to *Beza*, wherein they both acknowledge that we agree in the substance of true religion,

made was also theirs, and that they and the trueth were assailed in his Person and Writings.

But what neede I stand vpon the particular testimonies of priuate men, since the Confessions of our Churches are extant to be compared, as well in the Booke, intituled *The Harmony*, as in that other termed *The bodie of Confessions*? In the meane time to giue the Reader some satisfaction, I will set downe the doctrine of the Church of *England* in points of difference together with *Caluint* on the one side of it, and the *Romish* on the other, that so wee may make some estimate whether *Caluinisme* bee as opposite to the Religion of *England*, as to that of *Rome*. Now for the doctrine of the Church of *England*, I will not extend it so wide as to the Bookes and Lectures of our Bishops, and publique professours, the lights and guides of our Church and Vniuersities, nor yet contract and confine it, as Mr. Doctor doeth, within the narrow compasse of the *Common prayer Booke* and *Church Catechisme*, the booke of *Canons*, and therein *Nowels Catechisme*, *Can. 79.* being confirmed and allowed by publike authoritie. But about all I very much maruell Mr. Doctors memory should so farre faile him, as quite and cleane to forget the *Booke of Articles*, solemnely agreed vpon by the Reuerend Bishops and Clergie of this kingdome, at two seuerall meetings or Conuocations of theirs in the yeres of our Lord 1562, and againe 1604, and lately againe confirmed by two seuerall *Canons*, the 5, and 36 in number, since himselfe subscribed to them at the taking of his Orders, if not of his Degrees, and liuing a long time as Chaplen in house with *Archbishop Whitegift*, and since keeping his ordinary turnes of waiting at Court, and residence at *Canterbury*, he could not bee ignorant of them, nay, I can shewe it vnder his owne hand, which argues hee fought against the light of his owne conscience, that setting downe the differences betweene the *Olde English*, and *New French* diuinitie, as he calles it, hee quotes diuers of those Articles for the doctrine of the Church of *England*, and besides, professing himselfe so skilfull in the Statutes, he could not but knowe that *The Booke of Articles* and *Inim-*

Eliz. 13.

Art. 35. 36.

Etions is by them aswell confirmed and authorized, as *The Booke of Common Prayer*, in which *Articles* are also allowed and ratified *The second Booke of Homilies* and *holy Orders*; so that whatsoever is doctrinally deliuered in any of these, may safely bee called, *The doctrine of the Church of England*: But for the present I will content my selfe with *the Booke of Articles* onely, and for the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, with the *Canons* and positions of the *Tridentine Councell* and *Catechisme*, and for *Caluines* doctrine, with that specially which hee hath deliuered in his 4. *Bookes of Christian Institutions*.

Here followeth the Table of
differences.

B, C.

B. C.

22.

For when the breach was resolved on for the personall and particular ease of Henry the VIII. and the children of his later wives, it was necessary to give every part of the Common-wealth contentment, for which they might hold out in the heart of affection, and studie to maintaine the breach, otherwise it was likely that in the clearenesse of judgement it would quickly haue growen together againe, and then the authours thereof must haue bene excluded and given account of their practise.

How could it be for the ease of his later wives and their children, since the breach was made upon the taking of his second wife, or rather his first (if his marriage with Queene Katherine were a nullitie) and that be-

fore hee had any childe by her. 2 Yet hereafter you goe about to prooue, that in temporall respects the Romish religion is the fittest to give contentment to the severall members of the State. 3 That vntimely growing together, would rather haue bene a cause of feistring and rankling, so that the breach is kept open rather vpon judgement then vpon affection. 4 You make the King the authour of it, who should haue excluded him or called him to an account?

G. H.

22

Howbeit Henry the VIII. actually indeed made that breach with Rome, which continues at this day (and is like to doe till Rome by her reformation endeouour to make it vp) yet they certainly erre, who seeke the cause of it, onely in him and in his times, or fixing their eyes vpon his person & quarrel, looke not vp to the state and course of former ages: for as no wise man would assigne the cause of death to some accident falling out in the last point and period of life, but to some former distemper or intemperancie: so the reasons of vnhorsing the Pope, and reiecting his authoritie with the generall applause of all the estates of the Realme, hauing bene so long and so deeply rooted in mens minds, are not to be searched for in the personall and particular proceedings of Henry the VIII. but in the ancient Records and euidences of our Historians, who all complaine of the spurring, and gauling, and whipping of our land by those Italian riders, vntill like Balaams asse, shee

S 2

turned

turned againe, opened her mouth to complaine, and being out of all hope of reliefe by complaint, cast her rider. As many witnesses we haue hereof well neere, as Writers since the last 600. yeres: as many cleere testimonies as there be leanes in *Mat. Paris*, the most learned and sufficient Writer (vnlesse you will except *William of Malmesburie*) that those times afforded. It was a memorable speech of *Robert Grossteed* Bishop of *Lincolne*, who liued 358. yeres since, in the time of *Gregory the IX.* *Celestine the IIII.* *Innocent the IIII.* and *Alexander the VI.* who lying vpon his death-bed, the very night of his departure, making a lamentable and bitter complaint to the Priests and Monkes that stood about him, of the miserable estate of the Church, and laying the burthen of so great a mischief vpon the Popes shoulders (whom therefore he called *Heretike* and *Antichrist*) at length hee yeelded vp his soule vnto God with these words in his mouth, [*Non liberabitur Ecclesia ab Egipciaca seruitute, nisi in ore gladij cruentandi.* The Church will neuer bee freed from this Egyptian slavery, but by the point of a bloodie sword.] Thus did this holy man foresee and foretel, as it were by a Prophetical Spirit, that which we see accōplished: So that *Henrie the VIII.* serued onely as a midwife to bring to the world that birth, wherewith our countrey had bene in trauell many yeres before; and had not he bene borne, some other meanes would haue bene found out for the doing of that which he did; and what we see already done in *England*, will also vndoubtedly be brought to passe in other Nations, when their measure is full, and God will. In the meane time that the trueth of this assertion may the better appeare, I will adde to those examples, and instances brought to this purpose by his Maieslie in his *Premonition*, two others (in my iudgment very obseruable) the one of *William* surnamed the *Conquerour*, the other of *Henrie* (for his learning) surnamed *Beauclerke* his third sonne, and second Successor in the Kingdome, both out of the Manuscripts of that noble Antiquarie, *St Robert Cotton* knight *Barronet*. The father thus writes to *Gregory the VII.* commonly knownen by the name of *Hildebrand*, vpon notice giuen him from his Legate

Legate *Hubert*, that he was to doe him fealtie, and to pay him money as his ancestors had done.

[*Hubertus Legatus tuus (Religiose Pater) ad me veniens, ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi & successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, & de pecunia quam antecessores mei ad Romanam Ecclesiam mittere solebant melius cogitarem; vnum admisi, alterum non admisi; fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.*]

Hubert your Legate (Religious Father) coming vnto me, aduertised me as from you, that I was to doe fealtie to you, and your Successors, and that I should bethinke my selfe better of the money which my Predecessors were wont to send to the Church of *Rome*; the one I admitted, the other I admitted not. The fealtie I would not performe, neither will I, because neither my selfe promised it, nor doe I find that my Predecessors performed it to yours.

Vpon which occasion as it may well be supposed, the Pope returned this answer to his Legate *Hubert*, after signification; how little he esteemed money without honour given him; hee comes to the person of the King in these termes.

*Gregory 7 Re-
lib. 7. epist. 1. 107
3 concil. pa. 1244
edit. Bp.*

[*Multa sunt unde Sancta Romana Ecclesia aduer-*

sus eum queri potest, nemo enim omnium Regum etiam Paganorum, contra Apostolicam sedem hoc præsumpsit tentare, quod is non erubuit facere.]

There are many things whereof the holy Roman Church may complaine of against him, in as much as none of the Pagan kings haue attempted that against the Sea Apostolike, which hee hath not blushed to put in execution.

Now for *Henry* the sonne, who in this regarde swarued not from his fathers steppes, part of *Pope Paschals* letter vnto him, runnes thus.

[Paschalis seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico, illustri Anglorum Regi, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum de manu Domini largius honorem, diuitias, pacemq. susceperis, miramur vehementius, & grauamur quod in Regno potestateg. tua beatus Petrus, & in beato Petro, Dominus honorem suum iustitiamq. perdiderit. Sedis enim Apostolicae nuncij, vel literae. prater iussum Regiae Maiestatis, nullam in potestate tua susceptione vel aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum inde iudicium ad sedem Apostolicam destinatur.]

Paschal the seruant of the seruants of God, to
our

our beloued sonne *Henry*, the most renowned King of *England*, health and Apostolicall benediction. Sythence you haue plentifully receiued honour, riches and peace, from the hand of the Lord, We exceedingly woonder, and take it in ill part, that in your Kingdome, and vnder your Gouvernement *S. Peter*, and in *S. Peter*, the Lord hath lost his honour and right, in as much as the Nuntioes and Breues of the Sea Apostolike, are not thought worthy entertainment or admittance in any part of your Dominions, without your Maiesties warrant, No complaint now, no appeale comes from thence to the Sea Apostolike.

To which the King (after termes of complement,) replies in this manner.

[*Eos honores, & eam obedientiam, quam tempore Patris mei antecessores vestri in Regno Angliae habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo; eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitates, usus, & consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Angliae habuit ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integrè obtineam. Notum habeat Sanctitas vestra, quod me viuente, Deo auxiliante, dignitates & usus regni Angliae*

glia non minuentur : Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me deiectione ponerem , Optimates mei , imo totius Angliae populus id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (Charissime Pater) vtiliori deliberatione , ita se erga nos moderetur benignitas vestra , ne (quod inuitus faciam) à vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia.]

That honour and obedience which your predecessors had in the Kingdome of *England* during the Reigne of my father, my will is you should haue in my time, with this condition, that my selfe fully and wholly enioy all the Dignities, Prerogatiues and Customs, which my father enioyed in the sayd Kingdome, in the time of your predecessors; and I would your *Holineſſe* should vnderstand, that during my life the dignities and prerogatiues of the Crowne of *England*; by Gods grace, shall not bee diminished: and if I should so farre abase my selfe (which God forbid) my Lords and Commons would by no meanes endure it: wherefore (most deare Father) vpon better aduice, let your gentlenesse be so tempered toward vs, that I bee not enforced (which I shall vnwillingly doe) to withdraw my selfe from your obedience.

Whereby

Whereby it appeares, that *Henry the first* began to hammer and beate vpon that which *Henry the last*, by Gods appointment, in the fulnesse of time brought to perfection: and though these two Kings, the Father and the Sonne, gaue way to some part of the Popes iurisdiction, as I shewed before; Yet hereby it appeares it was a burthen vnto them.

B. C.

23.

Therefore to the Lords and¹ favorites of the Court, was given the lands and inheritance of the Abbies and religious houses, that hauing once as it were washed their hands in the bowels and bloud of the Church, both they and their posterity might be at viter defiance therewith; and so hauing ouerthrowne and prophaned the good workes of the² Saints, it was necessary for them to get them Chaplins, that might both dispute, preach, and write against the merits of good workes, the innocation of Saints, ³ the sacrifice of the Altar, prayer for the dead, and all such points of Catholike doctrine, as were the groundes of those Churches and religious houses, which they had ouerthrowne and prophaned: And it was not hard for those Chaplines by some shew of Scripture, to proue that which their Lords and followers were so willing to beleene.

¹ Were not those favorites fauorers of the Romish religion?

² If they were Saints, why did you still pray for them, as if they had bene in Purgatory.

³ Of these two last you may say as they in the 19. of the Acts, who made siluer shrines for their great Goddesse Diana. By this craft we haue our wealth,

G. H.

23.

The Abbies and Religious houses were growen to that height of idlenesse, the mother of ignorance and luxurie, within themselves, and by reason thereof into that contempt and base estimation with the people, that it was high time some blood should haue beene drawn from their swelling veins; specially considering the little vse the Common-wealth had of them, but chiefly for that they were so farre degenerated from the primitiue institution: Their number was great, it being 645. monasteries of men and women, accounting the Priories and Frieries, besides Chaunteries and free Chappels;

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their

their seate commonly in the fairest and fatteft part of the land, their reuenues amounting to an inestimable summe, as in the originall booke thereof taken by Commission, and giuen to the King may appeare; though at their dissolutions their values were fauourably and farre vnder rated, in so much as in the raigne of *Edward the first*, a statute of *Mortmaine* was made for the restraining of that excessse: And had not *Henry the fifth* beene wisely diuered vpon the *French* warres by *Archbishop Chicheley*, he had in all likelihood preuented *Henry the eighth* in diminishing, if not demolishing those houses; being set on by his *Parliament* held at *Leicester*, in the beginning of his raigne, in which a bill was exhibited, complaining how their reuenues giuen for deuotion, were most disorderly wasted vpon Hounds, and Hawkes, and Horles, and Whores which if better employed, would serue for the defence of the land, and honour of the King, and suffice for the maintenance of fiftene Earles, fiftene hundred Knights, sixe thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Almes-houses, for reliefe of impotent and diseased persons, and besides all this to the Kings Coffers, there would thereby yeerely accrew, twenty thousand pounds. And to speake a trueth, *Cardinall Wolsey* was the man who by pulling downe the smaler, both shewed and made a way to the King, *Henry the eighth*, for taking the like order with the bigger.

Neither did hee thinke his hands lesse bound towards his owne subiects, then the *Pope* and *French King* did theirs, for the rooting out of the rich and powerfull order of *Templars* through *Christendome*, accusing them of like grievous and vnaturall offences, as were in open *Parliament* layed to the charge of our monasticall professours, vpon the relation of such Commissioners, who were appointed to make search to that purpose: no marueile then that as after the dissolution of that order (which fell out in the raigne of *Edward the second*, as *Thomas de la More* reports it, who at the same time liued as an officer in his Court) the heires of the donors, and such as had indowed them with lands reentred vpon those parts of their ancient patrimonies: so in the downefall of Monasteries, the Lords tooke their share of those lands which their ancestors had

had formerly bestowed to pious uses, but were at that time very much abused by the possessours. But a great part of them, about, or somewhat about 600. yeeres since, were thrust into the possessions of married Church-men, by¹ *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so that if euery bird had his feather at their dissolution, the greatest part of their lands had returned to the Clergie, or at least their impropriations, which were as improper to them, though they held them by dispensation, as now it may well bee disputed, they are to the² possessours of them: A part whereof notwithstanding are so farre off from being at defiance with your Church, that they are professed *Romane* Catholikes. And in *Queene Marias* dayes among all those that intirely embraced that Religion, not so much as one was found that could be drawn to disgorge those sweet morsels they had deuoured, or to make restitution of a foote of land, though the *Queene* her selfe (the rather to draw them on) had offered all she held in possession.

¹ *M. Camden* in his description of *Worcester-shire*.

² By the common Lawes of *England* it is euident, that no man vnkate he be Ecclesiasticall, or haue Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, can haue inheritance of tythes. My *L. Cooke* in his first part of reports 21 Ed. 3. lib. 1. ff. 75.

Then was your doctrine of good workes, your *Inuocation of Saints*, your sacrifice of the *Altar*, and your prayer for the dead restored, which were the grounds (you say) of those religious houses: yet the land which had bene their maintenance, was not restored. And as the reuiuing of those doctrines could not serue to giue new life vnto the carkasses of those ruined houses, so the ruining of those houses was not the cause (as you pretend) of the impugning of those doctrines, since they were impugned (by the confession of your owne Writers) by the *Waldenses*, by the *Albigenses*, by *Wicliffe*, by *Husse*, by *Luther*, by *Zuinglius*, by *Caluin*, before those houses fell, and continued for the most part, during all the raigne of *Henry the eight*, as may appeare by the *sixe articles*, commonly called the *whip with the sixe cordes*. And for any thing I finde, he altered nothing (excepting the taking downe of Monasteries and the *Popes* authority) but onely the translation of the Bible, and the singing and reading diuine seruice in our mother tongue: so that it is cleare to any indifferent iudgement, that the contradicting of those doctrines rather caused the ruine of those houses, then their ruine (as you would beare vs in hand) the con-

³ Were not the fire in Purgatory (in which the foules of those dead are supposed to be) very hote, the fire in the *Popes* and *Monks* kitchins would quickly be very cold.

tradicting of those doctrines. And it were no hard matter, not by *shew* of Scripture, but by Scripture it selfe, to prooue their vnfoundnesse: But an harder I am sure it were, for his Holinesse Chaplaines, from thence to proue their soundnesse, in that sence as they are now defended in the Church of Rome, howbeit you are as willing to beleue the trueth of them for the ³ aduantage you reape by them (specially by the sacrifice of the Altar, and prayer for the dead) as any can bee vpon the like reason to beleue the contrary.

B. C.

24.

¹ Your pompous and empty shewes in Gods seruice well deserue that title of goodly gay nothings.

² Satisfaction and penance I take to be both one in the language of Rome, though you seem to put a difference betweene them.

³ Whether the people were kept in obedience by the *Popes* authority, let the manifold troubles by his meanes raised, testifie.

To the Commons was giuen great hope of reliefe for their puer-tie, ease of subsidies, and the burden of so great a Clergie, and many other ¹ goodly gay nothings: And for the present, they should haue liberty, and the benefit of the common Law, that is leaue to liue by such Lawes as themselves list to make, and to contemne the authoritie of the Church; which although it were for their benefit euery way, yet because it crossed their affections, like wayward children they could neuer abide it: and was not this reason enough for them to hold out the breach, and to study Scripture themselves, that they might be able to confute Confession, ² Satisfaction, Penance, and to declaim against that tyranny of the Church of Rome, whereby themselves and their forefathers had bene kept in awe and ³ obedience vnto God and their kings?

G. H.

24.

The Commons might haue bene disburdened of their Subsidies, had those reuenues and treasures which came, or might haue come to the Crowne by the downefall of monasteries, bene employed as they might haue bene: the plates and wires of gold of *Beckets* onely shrine, together with the pearles and precious stones of inestimable value, filling two great chests: But God so ordered the matter for their laying of sacrilegious handes,

hands, (as it may be thought) vpon those rents which by himselfe were consecrated to himselfe, that neither it, nor the rest prospered, neither was the king thereby much enriched, nor the Commons relieved, it beeing like the dead flie in the boxe of oyntment, or the Colloquintida in the Prophets portage. Now for the peoples *liberty in making lawes* at their own pleasure, to *line as they listed*; it is a matter fondly surmised and published of you, nor promised by the State, nor demanded or expected by them. The Lawes Ecclesiasticall were in King *Henries* time, and by his authority appoynted to be compiled and digested, by a certaine company of Bishops and other diuines ioyned in Commission, with *Ciuill and Canon-Lawyers*, to the number of 32. but this worke being left imperfect by the death of that king, was afterward finished in the dayes, and by the command of his sonne *Edward*, which my selfe haue seene, though by the vntimely death of that king also, it neuer yet receiued publike allowance. And for other Lawes, as the world knoweth, they neither could nor can make any without the consent of the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the approbation of the king. And lastly how *the lawes of your Church crossed their affections*, let their often and dangerous rebellions for the restoring of them testifie, there beeing none in trueth more fitting to the humour of a natural minded man, as may appeare by this, that a man of no religion, and like white paper, or sponged tables apt to receiue any impression, will sooner embrace yours, then any other in the world.

From this you digresse to *their studying of the Scriptures, that they might be able to confute confession, satisfaction, penance, and to declaim against that tyranny of the Church, whereby themselves and their forefathers had bene kept in awe and obedience to God and their king*. For their *studying of the Scriptures*, it is indeede a great eye-sore to you, because thereby your malice in withholding your followers from reading them, and withall your burdensome traditions thrust vpon them for your owne honor and gaine, but to their paine and grievance, are clearly discovered and discerned, from that which before you call *eternall truth*; but to them nothing can bee more profitable, or to

their guides more comfortable, so it bee done with reuerence and sobriety, and (as our Preface to the Bishops Bible exhorts) [not so much to dispute and contradict, as to learne and obey] as being a practise which both our Sauour himselfe, and his Apostles, and the holy Fathers of the Primitiue Church, (specially *S. Chrysostome*) in diuers homilies often and earnestly exhort their hearers vnto. And for the *confutation* of those *poyntes you name*, I am of opinion (and I thinke not without reason) that many of our people are better able by Scriptures to confute them, as they are now held and vsed amongst you, then your greatest Bishops and Cardinals are from thence able to proue them, of whom some haue not stucked to professe that they thought that time which they passed in reading the Scriptures to be of all other the most vnprofitably spent, preferring *Tullies Orations* before *Pauls Epistles*, and *Aristotles Ethikes* before *Solomons Proverbs*.

B. C.

25.

To the Clergie men that would turne with the times, beside the possibilitie of present preferment by the alteration, was giuen shortly after leaue to marrie, & to purchase, and to enioy the profit and pleasure of the world, as well as the laitie, and what carnall minded Monke or Priest would not with might and maine keepe open the breach after he was once plunged in it rather then to be in danger to forgoe so pleasing a comoditie: Hence did arise a necessitie of speaking and writing against Vowes, Virginitie, Pouertie, Fasting, Praying, Watching, Obedience, and all that austeritie of life, which is by the Lawes of the Church required in a monasticall and Priestly conuersation.

1 What carnall minded Priest or Monke would not rather entertaine varietie of Concubines then be tyed to one wife.

G. H.

25.

Little hope was there giuen for the present to the Churchmen that yelded to the King for matter of preferment, since the

the Abbots and Priors were not onely turned out of doores, but their houses rased, and their goods and lands confiscated. And for the Bishops, none of their places thereby fell voide, they all (*Rocheſter* onely excepted) ioyntly concurring with the king in caſting off the *Romiſh* yoke: and for their marrying & purchaſing, neither of the were permitted, during the reigne of king *Henry*, who liued & reigned ſomewhar aboute 14. yeres after the breach with *Rome*: Howbeit if wee may credite Mr. *Cambden*, an ynpartiall Antiquarie, Churchmen were not forbidden mariage in *England* till the yere 1102. [then *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* (ſayeth hee) offered violence both to nature and to the Scriptures] which he writes vpon occaſion of one *Ealphegus*, a Prielt famous for his learning, who was married and dwelt in the South part of *Deuonſhire*: And further he alledged the words of *Henry* of *Huntindon* touching that act of *Anſelme* [He forbade wines to the Engliſh Priests, being neuer before forbidden, which to ſome ſeemed a thing very decent, to others as dangerous, leaſt while they aimed to a puritie aboue their reach, they might fall into horrible impuriſies, to the diſhonour of *CHRISTS* Name, and their profeſſion.] Thoſe words of *Cambden* before quoted, together with theſe of *Huntindon* by him alledged, are commaunded to be rased by the *Spaniſh Index*: But they might aſwell haue rased thoſe of *Pius* the 11. in *Platina*, auouching that hee ſaw great reaſon why Priests ſhould be reſtrained of mariage; but greater why it ſhould be reſtored them, or thoſe of *Cassander* [by that ouer rigorous and unſeaſonable conſtitution (ſpeaking of reſtraint of marriage in Churchmen) wee ſee much grieuous and abominable ſcandall to haue ariſen in the Church,] or thoſe of *Mantuan* touching *St. Hillary*, Biſhop of *Pauctiers* in *France*.

Nontibi progenies nocuit, non obſuit uxor
Legitimo coniuncta toro —

Or laſtly thoſe of the ſame Poet, ſpeaking of the father of *Nazianzen*.

Prefule Patre ſatus, nam tunc idiura ſinebant,
— non horruit illa.

Tam

Sacerdotibus
magna ratione ſub-
latas nuptias, ma-
iori reſtituendas
videtur

Tempestate Deus Thalamos, cunabula, tædas.

And in another place of the father of *Basil*, and *Gregorie Nyssen*,

Tutus esse volunt qua lex divina sinebat

Isse viâ, veterumque sequi vestigia patrum:

Quorum vita fuit melior cum coniuge, quam nunc

Nostra sit exclusis Thalamis, & coniugis usu.

And if marrying be allowed them, I see no reason but they should withall be allowed purchasing, as they are and alwayes haue beene in the Easterne Church, * *hee being worse then an Infidell that provideth not for those of his owne household.*

* 1. Tim. 5. 8.

To conclude wee neither speake nor write against lawfull *Vowes*, but the rashnesse of them, and impossibilitie in performing them: Not against *true Virginitie*; but the fained shew of it, and the preferring it by so many degrees before the honourable estate of mariage: Not against *necessary Pouertie*, but the voluntarie choise of it, when more good may be done by possessing and vsing those meanes God hath sent vs: Not against *Fasting*; but the pharisaicall vse of it, and making it part of diuine worship: Not against *Praying*; but the performance of it in a strange tongue, rather for custome then for conscience, rather by number then by weight, in drawing neere vnto God with our lippes, when our hearts are farre from him: Not against *Watching*; but the pretended apish imitation and merit in it: Not against *Obedience*; but the abuse of it in the enterprising of damnable and desperate attempts. Lastly, not against *austeritie of life*; but inciuilitie, and that shew of wisdom which *S. Paul* censureth in the second to the *Col. Consisting in voluntary Religion and humblenesse of minde, and not sparing the bodie*. You doe well to adde that all these are required in a Monasticall conuersation, but how they were or are performed, God knowes, and the world not vnderstandedly suspects.

B. C.

B. C.

26.

Vpon theſe conditions, the Lords, the Commons, and the Clergie were content to beleene, that the King was Supreme head of the Church of England: Not that they did thinke ſo indeed, or that they deſired to augment his authoritie; but that they might bee protected by him, & freely enioy thoſe commodities which they thought ſchiſme had brought vnto them, and feared the vniy of the Church might againe take from them: Hence did ariſe a neceſſitie of inueighing againſt the Pope and the Church of Rome, as againſt Antichriſt and Babylon, and the greateſt enemies of the State of England: Inſomuch that that Clergie man was moſt acceptable to them, and in their opinion moſt worthy of preferments, that could moſt confidently preach and write the moſt foule and monſtrous aſſertions of the Pope, and the Church of Rome, though they were neuer ſo falſe. Theſe and ſuch like are thoſe temporall reſpects, which would ſaine ſeeme the daughters of thoſe doctrines which themſelues haue brought forth, and to be diuided from the Catholike Church by doctrine, when they themſelues haue cauſed the doctrine of diuiſion.

1 Thoſe doctrines being ſet on foote, and maintained (as I haue ſhewed before) long before our diuiſion from Rome, might well cauſe it; but could not be cauſed by it.

G. H.

26.

*Vpon theſe conditions, you ſay, that the Lords, and Commons, and Clergie, were content to beleene, that the King was ſupream head of the Church of England, whereas your ſelfe before confeſſe, that theſe conditions were afterward graunted to the Clergie, who notwithstanding, were the forwardeſt in perſwading the King to accept and aſſume that title, as may appeare by the booke ſet out by the whole Conuocation of England, intituled, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man*, beſides the Treatiſes of diuers particular Biſhops to the ſame purpoſe, as namely *Stephen Gardiners* diſcourſe of true obedience, together with *Bonnors* Preface annexed to it, *Longelands* Sermon, and *Tunstals* Letter to Cardinall Poole, all which are extant to*

be reade and seene at this day, and surely he that shall obserue their vehement protestations, specially of *Gardiner*, whom I hold the most sufficient among them for learning, and withall the soundnesse and weight of the reasons, which they enforce against the *Popes* pretended iurisdiction, will easily beleue, that they thought in very deepe as they wrote, that their minds and their penne concurred in one. But from hence (you say) arose a necessitie of enuying against the *Pope* and the *Church of Rome*, as against *Antichrist* and *Babylon*, as if his Holinesse had neuer beene graced with the title of *Antichrist*, before *Henry* assumed his title of *supream* head; nor *Rome* called *Babylon* before *England* was freed from that *Babylonish* captiuitie. Whereas your famous *Cardinall* hath none other prooffe from Scripture, that *S. Peter* was euer at *Rome*, but by expounding *Rome* to be the *Babylon*, from whence he dated his first Epistle: And when the seuerall markes of *Antichrist* shall be applied to any so properly, as to the Bishop of *Rome*, I will confesse he is iniuriously so styled; in the meane time, I can hardly imagine any so foule and monstrous assertions, which some of your *Popes* haue not deserued, euen by the confession of your owne Writers, it being enough to make a modest man blush in reading, and relating that which they blushed not to act, nay boasted of being acted: in so much as I doubt not, but I may confidently affirme, that neither the Catalogue of Emperours, taking in the Heathenish among the Christians, nor any one succession of Kings in the world, since the first creation of it to this present age, euer afforded so many monsters of men, so many incarnate deuils, so expert in all kind of villanies, as that of your *Popes*: neither can any one King or Emperour be named, whom some of your *Popes* haue not out-stripped. And what needed then any imitation of your side, in faining false assertions, where true were so plentiful?

B. C.

27.

In all these and all other doctrine of diuision, men haue receiued
great

great countenance and encouragement from Geneva: For although M. Iohn Caluin were neuer any good subiect, or friend to Bishop, ¹Duke, or King, yet hee did so fit the common people with new doctrine, that no Gospel can be so ²pleasing to them, nor so lightsome as his: for finding Geneva to be fallen out both with their Bishop, who was their ancient Prince, and their Duke, to whom they ³pretended against their Bishop, and to bee all in a combustion amongst themselves for want of government, although he were then a stranger, and a very ⁴young man, of some sixe and twenty or seven and twenty yeeres olde at the most, yet he thought good upon the opportunity to giue the venture, and to step in himselfe to be founder of a new Church and state amongst them: And for that purpose, hee ⁵found them such a Catechisme, as they might easily contemne all ancient learning and authority, and saue themselves by a strong fancie, which hee called ⁶faith: And this pleased the Bourgers of Geneva so well, that they called a meeting, and caused all the Citizens to sweare, that that Catechisme was true, and all ⁷Poperie false; as may appeare in Caluins life written by Beza, and prefixed to his Epistles. And although the ministeriall Presbitery of Geneva haue lost much of M. Caluins greatnesse, yet the Citie hath had the ⁸fortune euer since by the helpe of their neighbours, to hold out against their Bishop and the Duke, and all their ancient gouernours.

any of his succellours could euer enioy the possession, and as I heare Philibertus their present Duke publicly renounced his pretence vnto it, in the last assembly of the Protestants of France at Grenoble. ⁴ Better an young reformer then an olde apostate. ⁵ Hee found the substance of it in the Scriptures, though not the forme or method. ⁶ Your faith of Rome comes not so farre as a strong imagination, it contents it selfe with a bare speculation or naked apprehension, some reprobares going as farre in beleeuing, and all diuels farther. ⁷ Bezas words are, *Eturato palam Papatu*, by which I take to be vnderstood, the renouncing of the Papacie or the Popes authority, not the swearing of all Popes to be false: or the abiuring of a mans hope of attaining the *Popedom*, as a relapsed Friar lately expounded himselfe. ⁸ That which was affected by Gods speciall providence in their often and miraculous deliuerances, you maliciously ascribe to fortune and the helpe of their neighbours. How could the Bishop and the Duke be both their ancient gouernours?

¹ You had final reason to make him an enemy to Dukes, saue only for not betraying his Citie to the Duke of Savoy.

² Why his doctrine should bee so pleasing to the common people, I see no reason but onely the force of truth, since it restraineth them of much liberty, which the Romish affordeth.

³ They were fallen out with their Duke, and yet pretended to him, whereas in truth the Duke pretended to them, not they to him. Duke Amadis indeed got that donation from Pope Martin, but neither himselfe nor

G. H.

27.

You passe on in this Section, and the next to passe your censure vpon Geneva and Caluin, in as much as from them wee

V 2

haue

Method. hist.
cap. 6.

haue receiued great countenance and encouragement; whereas neither *Genena* nor *Caluin* were either of thein of so much greatnesse, as to afford vs any great countenance. Yet for *Genena* may truly thus much bee said, euen out of the mouth of *Bodina* a professed enemie in religion, that neither drunkennesse, nor idlenesse, nor professed Beggerie, nor open wantonnesse were to be found in that Citie, and that it flourished not so much in riches and power, as in piety and vertue, which God himselfe by strange and miraculous deliuerances of them at sundry times, hath in some sort testified to the world: Howbeit as a worthy Knight hath well obserued, [the Friars would make their followers beleue, that it is about all other places a professed retreat and banetuarie of Roguerie, giuing harbour to all the runnagates, traytors, rebels, and wicked persons of all other Countries; by which speech very generally in *Italy* spread and beleueed, some memorable accidents haue at some time happened, sundry of their picking and loose Friars, hearing *Genena* to bee a place of good fellowship, and thinking the worse pranks they plaied with their owne ere they came thither, to finde the better welcome at their comming, robbed their Couents of their Church-plate, and other repositaries, and brought away the bootie in triumph to *Genena*, vnder the colour of being reformed in their religion, where their aduancement hath bene straight to the gibbet, for their labour; a reward vnexpected, and such as caused them to complaine pittifully of their wrong information. For such is the extraordinary severity of this Citie, as to punish crimes committed without their estate, with no lesse rigour then if they had bene amongst them. And not many yeeres since, it was the lot of a *Spanish* Gallant, who stood vpon his state, and caried a Mint about him, to re-paire thither to haue stamps made him for the coyning of Pistoles: being apprehended and charged with it, his defence was, that he vnderstood their Citie was free, and gaue receite to all offenders, but withall (said they) when they were come they punished their offences, a distinction which the poore Gentleman neuer before studied, and the learning of it then cost him no lesse then his head-peece,] And for *Caluin* I mar-
ueile,

uile that hauing so diligently read S. *Augustine*, and so highly esteeming him, you should haue such a rooth against *Caluine*, who professeth of S. *Augustine* in the latter end of his Chapter of the Sacraments in generall, that he often quoted him [*ut optimum, & ex tota antiquitate fidelissimum testem*] as the best and soundest witnesse which antiquity afforded: and he might wel say he quoted him often, there being no Tome, & scarcely any one booke of *Augustines*, out of which *Caluine* through the foure bookes of his Institutions, cites not many passages to the number of 280. if my computation faile not: and for the greatest part so iudiciously to the purpose, that I may well doubt, or rather indeed not doubt at all whether M^r. *Caluin* or D^r. *Carrier* had read S. *Augustine* with the greater attention and iudgment: And for their knowledge in Scriptures, I am sure malice it selfe will easily acknowledge, there was no comparison. D^r. *Stapleton* who was not otherwise very fauourable to *Caluin*, yet sends this testimony after him in the Preface of his Antidote against *Caluins* exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, [*that his Commentary on that booke was most elaborat, and his disputations acute and accurate*] and in another place [*for the literall sense hee is a diligent interpreter, so morall, so elegant, so sweet, that hee is read greedily of the Catholikes themselves, whom I haue heard sometimes wishing that those thinges beeing cut out which make against our Church and beliefe, hee might come abroad gelded, and that by that meanes his Commentaries might prove exceeding profitable.*] *Thuanus* doubts not to testifie of him that he was [*acri vir, ac vehemens ingenio, & admirabilis facundia pradius*]: a man of a smart and strong wit, and endued with admirable eloquence, [who when hee had spent seuen yeeres (saith he) in wrestling with diuers diseases, yet was his diligence in his vocation thereby nothing lessened, neither did hee spare himselfe in the continuall course of his writing:] but *Panigryolla* his testimony is yet more obseruable, in as much as he was an Italian and a Friar, and purposely preached many bitter Sermons against *Caluin* at *Thurin* in *Sauoy*: His words in effect are these, [*Caluin* to speake the

1. Tom. 2. part 1.

2. In the first part of his Sermons against *Caluin* preached at *Thurin*, anno 1536

trueth, was a man of a quicke vnderstanding, and cleare iudgment, of great variety of reading, and rare indowments of nature.]

Salmeron, one of the first ten of *Loyolae* foundation, of whom *Ribadeneira* in his Catalogue of the Iesuiticall writers witnesseth [that by his speaking in the Council of *Trent*, hee bred admiration, and an opinion of great learning in his hearers, being a professed and perpetual enemy of heretikes, who he persecuted and quelled by his disputations, his lectures, his writings,] yet this very man as eager and stout a champion as he was for the Church of *Rome*, and against the *Caluinists*, makes no bones to borrow almost whole pages from *Caluin*, as may appeare to any that please to compare their expositions on the second chapter to *Titus*, the 11. and 12. verses, a taste whereof I will here present vnto the readers view;

[*Apparuit enim gratia Dei salutaris omnibus hominibus. Caluin. A fine redemptionis argumentatur, quem docet esse studium piè & rectè viuendi, vnde sequitur boni Pastoris officium esse, potius hortari ad sanctam vitam, quàm vanis questionibus occupare hominum mentes. Redemit nos (inquit Zacharias in suo cantico) ut in sanitate & innocentia seruiamus illi omnibus diebus vita nostræ. Eiusdem rationis est quod dicit Paulus, Gratia Dei apparuit nos erudiens; significat enim vice institutionis esse nobis debere ad vitam rectè formandam.*]

[*Salmeron* vpon the same words, *Dicendum est Apostolum argumentari à fine redemptionis, quæ docet studium sobriè & iustè & piè viuendi: nam præstat Doctorem ad honestam vitam homines adhortari, quàm vanis questionibus mentes hominum occupare; nam ad id sumus redempti, ut in sanitate & iustitia seruiamus Deo omnibus diebus nostris, & ob id apparuit gratia Dei, ut per eam institamur ad vitam rectè formandam.*]

From this collation we cannot but inferre, as one doth of *Plato*, and *Philo* the Jew, *vel Philonizat Plato, vel Platonizat Philo*, and another of *Ramus* and *Vives*, *aut Ramizat Viues, aut Viuizat Ramus*: so of *Caluin* and *Salmeron*, *aut Salmeron Calvinizat, aut Caluinus Salmeronizat*; either *Salmeron* borrowes from *Caluin*, or *Caluin* from *Salmeron*, it beeing in my

appre-

apprehension (without the helpe of a miracle) vtterly impossible, and consequently incredible, that two men should fall so neere vpon the same conceptions and wordes, without the sight one of anothers writings, now that *Salmeron* is the borrower, and not *Caluin*, it appeares from hence that in his exposition of the 10. verse of the third Chapter of the same Epistle, he mentioneth *Marlorates* Commentary on that place, which was compiled out of the Comments of diuers other learned men, but specially out of *Caluins*; besides *Caluin* died in the yeere 1564. as *Beza* witnesseth, and *Salmeron* in the yeere 1595. as *Ribadineira* hath left it vpon record: So that it might well be, and I verily thinke it was so, that *Caluin* was dead many yeeres before *Salmeron* set vpon this exposition of the Epistles, specially of that to *Titus*, which among his sixteene seuerall Tomes is ranged in the last saue one: So that it seemes he wrote it not long before his death, and consequently many yeeres after *Caluin* was dead. Lastly the vniformity of the style, and the tenour of writing plainly discouers that *Caluin* was the creditour, and *Salmeron* the debtor, or rather the thiefe, which I the more marueile at, considering in the Preface of his exposition vpon the Epistles he professeth, [his intent was chiefly to dispute against the heretikes of these times, who called themselves *Payls Diuines*, and gloried in his doctrine.] And in the third part of his first booke next following, proposeth diuers questions touching the Church, and the gouernement against *Luther* and *Caluin*, by name. Now for *Maldonate* and *Iansenius*, though they colour the matter more cunningly in the change of words, yet are they nothing lesse beholding to *Caluin* in many places for the sence: And thus we see how out of the mouthes and pennes of those, who for reputation of learning were farre aboue, and for bitterness of malice were nothing inferiour to Dr. *Carrier*. *Caluins* rare and singular gifts are truly acknowledged.

But he was neuer (you say) any good subiect or friend, to Bishop, Duke or King: It was the same imputation which by the Iewes was cast vpon Christ; and by the Pagans vpon the Christians, in the Primitiue Church, as may appeare in *Tertullians* apology for

1 Then which
teacheft, another
man should not
steale, dost thou
steale?

for them deliuered by him to the Emperours *Seuerus* and *Antoninus*; a great part whereof is spent in wiping off that aspersi-
 on, and therefore *Caluin* may beare it at your hands with the
 greater patience. Against the state of *Bishops*, if he any where
 write otherwise then becomes him, we may well impute it to
 his zeale against the great abuse of that order in the *Romane*
 hierarchie, and his desire of establishing his owne discipline,
 which though he did well to erect at *Geneua* (as being a kinde
 of gouernment most fit for that city;) yet to shew that wee
 make him no god, we professe he did ill in imposing it as ne-
 cessary on all other Churches. What friend hee was to *Kings*,
 beside infinite other passages through his voluminous wri-
 tings, his onely Epistle to *Francis* the French king, prefixed to
 his Institutions, doth sufficiently declare, which (as *Beza* not
 without good reason thinketh) if that king had but read, it
 would haue occasioned the giuing of some deepe wound to
 the whore of *Babylon*, hee being not of the humour of those
 kings that followed after him in the kingdome, but a sharpe
 censurer, of a deepe iudgement; a great patrone of learning,
 and of himselfe not auerle from that side, and though in his
 Commentaries vpon *Amos*, he seeme to mislike *Henry the 8th.*
his title of Supream Head, which by *Stephen Gardiner* and other
 sycophants of Court, was then interpreted to spread as farre,
 & include as ample power as that he had taken from the *Pope*,
 yet the lawfull Supremacie of kings, he both alloweth and de-
 fendeth, as his *Maiesty* truly witnesseth for him in his *Cata-*
logue of Tortures annexed to his *Premonition*, and therein hee
 sheweth himselfe a better friend to kings, then *D. Carrier* was
 when he thus passed his censure on him; for though hee often
 dranke to his *Maiesties* health, as he professeth in a letter which
 he thought worthy the imparting to all well minded Catho-
 likes; yet withall hee laboured by might and maine to read-
 uance and reestablish his authority amongst vs, who hath pro-
 fessedly crossed and dashed the taking of that oath, by which is
 onely testified that naturall allegiance which we owe his *Ma-*
iestie. [Now for his coming to *Geneua*, and the founding of that
 gouernment & discipline there, which continues in force amongst the
 with

with no ill successe at this day, whereas you tell vs, that *being a very yong man, of some 26. or 27. yerres old at the most, yet he thought good vpon the opportunity to giue the venture and step in himselfe.*

For his age I will not much strue with you, but onely desire you to remember that some of your ⁴ *Popes*; but many of your Bishops, and Archbishops, and Cardinals haue bin thrust, or at least haue thrust themselues into places of greater charge, before they arriued to those yerres, and perchance before they saw one halfe, or a quarter so many. Yet it cannot bee denyed but it pleaseth God sometimes to raise vp the Spirit of a yong *Daniel*, or a yong *Samuel*, or a yong *Timothie*, for the effecting of that which an old *Ely* is vnfit for, yong men for the most, being most zealous and aduenturous, but with all more inconsiderate, and old men more cold and remisse, but withall more wary and circumspect, according to that of *S. Ierome* in one of his Epistles to *S. Augustine*, *Bos lassus fortius figit pedem*, The aduice of an old man is commonly best, but the execution of young: The former haue alwayes beene accounted fitter for settled businesse, but the latter for new enterprises, in as much as men of age commonly obiekt too much, consult too long, aduenture too little, repent too soone, and seldome driue businesse home to the full periode; but content themselues with a mediocritie of successe, as louing to sleepe in whole skinne. I am not of that Rabbyes mind, who because in Scripture [*Yong men are sayed to see visions, and old men to dreame dreames,*] thereupon inferreth, that young men are admitted neerer to God then olde, because vision is a clearer reuelation then a dreame: But yet experience teacheth vs, and a noble Gentleman before named, hath tightly obserued it, that *the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth, and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, then in the vertues of the will and affections*: So that *Caluin* though hee had beene younger when he came to *Geneua*, then you make him; yet had his youth bin no sufficient cause to ⁵ despise him, considering, as the Lawyers for the punishing of a malefactor vnder age are wont to say, *malitia supplet aetatem*, so may I much rather for a iust defence, *scientia* or *prudentia* supplet aetatem,

X

which

⁴ So that a man might truly say of them as the O rator doth of some of his time, *Proemichant ad rempub. noni oratoris adulescentuli.*

⁵ See no man despise thy youth. Tit.

which shewes it selfe in this, that before his comming thither, he had written his excellent Commentarie vpon *Seneca de Clementia*, and at *Orleans* had beene offered the degree of Doctorship in the lawes, without paying so much as the ordinary fees, by the generall consent of all the publike professours of that facultie: whereas their common determination is now sayd to bee, *Accipiamus pecuniam, & dimittamus asinum in patriam*: but to draw neerer to the purpose: *Caluin*, how rare and singular soeuer his gifts were, euen beyond his age, yet withall they were so tempered and seasoned with modestie, that single he attempted nothing in the reforming of that Church, as M^r. Doctour pretends; but by aduise, and with consent of the chiefe Pastours, whom hee found there, *Farell* and *Viret*, which three, a fourth Minister in the same citie hath thus happily ioyned together.

Gallica mirata est Caluinum Ecclesia, nuper

Quo nemo docuit doctius:

Est quoque te nuper mirata Farelle tonantem,

Quo nemo tonuit fortius:

Et miratur adhuc fundentem mella Viretum,

Quo nemo satur dulcius:

Scilicet, aut tribus his seruabere testibus olim,

Aut interibis Gallia.

Nay he was so farre from excluding them, or putting himselfe out of his ambition into the businesse (as Master Doctour would haue it,) that by the former of them himselfe was in a maner drawn into it: for passing through *Genena* by chance, and intending to trauell for his studies into farther parts, to *Basil*, or *Strasbourg*, *Farel* requesting him long and earnestly to set vp his rest there, and to ioyne his labours with them, for the good of that Citie, when hee sawe hee could not preuaile, being a man inspired with an Heroicall spirit, he suddenly breakes out into this vehement speech, [*At ego tibi studia tua prae texenti denuntio omnipotentis Dei nomine, futurum, ut nisi in opus istud Domini nobiscum incumbas, tibi non tam Christum quam te ipsum querenti, Dominus maledicat.*] But I (saith he) denounce vnto you pretending your studies; in the Name of
God

God Almighty, that except you set your selfe with vs to this worke of the Lord, it will come to passe, that seeking your selfe and not Christ, hee will send a curse vpon your proceedings.] With which dreadfull threat, *Caluin* being terrified, submitted himselfe to the disposition of the Presbiterie and Magistracie: whence we may also gather that *Caluin* was neither the sole, nor first founder of that gouernement, but that the seeds of it were sown, and the foundation layed before his comming thither. Now let the Reader iudge of the truth of that which Mr. Doctour hath published, namely that *Caluin* thought good vpon the opportunitie to gine the venture, and to step in himselfe to be the founder of a new Church, and State among them, and withall consider whether Mr. Dr. professing that he had read *Caluins* life witten by *Beza* (frō whom I haue borrowed, what touching this point I haue deliuered; hee fought not against the light of his own conscience, when hee thus wrote touching *Caluin*: Neither (to speak a truth) can I cōceiue any likely reason why he should aspire to be sole or chiefe commander in that Citie, which (as *Beza* truly witnesseth of it,) is and hath beene *Paupertatis officina*, the shop of pouertie, in so much that when hee dyed, his whole estate (together with his studie of bookes sold at a deare rate, could hardly be valued at 300. Crownes, verelying therein that notable speech of his owne in the Preface of his Commentarie on the Psalmes: that

⁶ *I am no money-monger (saith hee) if lining I cannot perswade men, my death will put it out of doubt.*

⁶ *Me non esse pecuniosum, si quibusdam viuis non persuadeo, mors tamen offendet.*

Lastly, for the better clearing of this point, and the discovering of the trueth of his proceedings at his first comming to *Genena*, I will hereunto addethe relation of one, who professedly wrote against the necessitie of imposing that discipline on other Churches, which he there erected, and therefore may well be thought not to speake partially on his behalfe, and yet for his learning and singular iudgement to haue vnderstood what he wrote better then Dr. *Carrier*: His words are.⁷ [A founder it had (saith hee) whom for mine owne part I thinke incomperably the wisest man that euer the French Church did enioy, since the time it enioyed him, his bringing vp was in the

⁷ *M. Hooker in his Preface to his Ecclesiasticall discipline.*

3 *Bezas* words
are *Plerisque ex
collegiis, tumultu
urbis fugientibus.*

studie of the ciuill Law: diuine knowledge hee gathered, not by hearing or reading so much, as by teaching others: for though thousands were debtors to him as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none, but only to God the author of that most blessed fountaine the booke of life, and of the admirable dexteritie of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides, till being occasioned to leaue *France* he fell at the length vpon *Genewa*, which Citie the ³ Bishop and Clergie thereof, had a little before (as some doe affirme) forsaken, being of likelihood frighted with the peoples sudden attempt for the abolishment of Popish Religion: the euent of which enterprise they thought not safe for themselves to waite for in that place. At the comming of *Caluin* thither the forme of their ciuill regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: Neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman, of any authoritie or power ouer them, but Officers chosen by the people, yeerely out of themselves, to order all things with publike consent: For Spirituall gouernement they had no Lawes at all agreed vpon, but did what the Pastours of their Soules by perswation could winne them vnto. *Caluin* being admitted one of their preachers, and a Diuinitie Reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that Church should still hang on so slender a threed, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it haue power to change whatsoeuer it listeth: wherefore taking vnto him two of the other Ministers for more countenance of the action (albeit the rest were all against it) they mooued and in the end perswaded with much adoe the people to binde themselves by solemne oath, first, neuer to admit the Papacie amongst them againe, and secondly, to liue in obedience vnto such orders concerning the exercise of their Religion, and the former Ecclesiasticall gouernment, as those their true and faithfull Ministers of Gods word had agreedably to Scripture set down for that end and purpose.] Whence wee may obserue, first, that *Caluin* was no founder of a new State amongst them (as Mr. Doctor would beare vs in hand) but as hee found it popular at his entrance, so at his death hee left

left it: Secondly, the citizens *swore not that all Popery was false*, as Mr. Doctor assures, but bound themselues with an oath, neuer to admit of the *Papacie* (that is as I take the *Popes* vsurped authoritie) amongst them againe, and for his *Catechisme* one hee wrote which *Beza* calles *opus admirandum*, an admirable peece of worke, so much desired of all nations, that himsele hauing first written it in *Latine* and *French*, it was afterward at the request of strangers translated into *High Dutch*, *Low Dutch*, *Englisb*, *Spanisb*, and by *Immanuel Tremelius* into *Hebrew*, and by *Henry Stephens* into *Greeke*: but that (as I suppose) which you meane was the heads of Christian Religion comprised in a few positions, not vnlike our Booke of *Articles* which we are bound to subscribe vnto: wherein, for any thing I can finde, hee speaketh none otherwise of *Faith*, then the Scriptures giue him warrant, which, it may bee in your opinion are but a *strong fancie* neither: but had you as thoroughly read him vpon that point of Iustification by *faith*, as *Pighius* did, though with a mind to confute him, you might haue had the grace to haue yeelded in opinion to him, as hee did by the confession of *Tapper* in the 8th. Article of his second Tome, sometimes his fellow-pupil vnder *Adrian*, the VI. Pope of that name, neither doth hee in that *Catechisme* teach them to *contemne all ancient learning and authoritie* as you saine, but fained authoritie and learning falsely so called: For what learning haue wee more *ancient* then the Scriptures? or what authoritie more binding; and yet for authoritie of the most auncient Councils and godly Fathers, I thinke hee voucheth more then euer Doctor *Carrier* read, though hee built not his faith vpon them, and teach others to doe the like: in regard of such *auncient learning and authoritie*, being but humane (the aduise of the Prophet is to bee regarded, or rather the command of God by the Prophets mouth to bee obeyed, * Thus ^{1 Ierem. 6. 16.} *saith the Lord, Stand in the wayes and see, and aske for the olde pathes; where is the good way and walke therein, and yee shall finde rest for your soules.* For it is true, that with all wise and moderate persons, that kind of antiquitie obtaineth that authoritie and reuerence, as it is sufficient matter to moue them to make

a stand, and to discouer and take a viewe, but it is no warrant to guide or to conduct them, a iust ground, I say, it is of deliberation, but not of direction: but on the other side (as it is well obserued by a writer whom Master Doctor himselfe before nameth with honour) *who knoweth not that time is truly compared to a streame, that carrieth downe fresh and pure waters into the salt sea of corruption, which environeth all humane actions; and therefore if man shall not by his industry, vertue, and policie, as it werewith the Oare, rowe against the streame and inclination of time, all institutions and ordinances (be they neuer so pure) will corrupt and degenerate.*

Finally, for the iustifying of that which you haue deliuered touching *Caluine* and his proceedings, you send vs to *Bezaes* narratio of *Caluins* life, but had you not in the perusal thereof shut vp the eye of charitie, and onely opened that of malice and enuie, you might as easily haue seene and obserued in the same narration, his wonderfull assiduitie in reading, in preaching, in writing, in conferring; insomuch that being aduised by his physicians, and by his friends requested a little to forbear, in regard of the weakenesse of his body, and his manifold infirmities, his vsuall answer was, that [idlenesse to him was the greatest sickenesse, or *Vultis me otiosum à Domino deprehendi*, will yee that the Lord when hee commeth should finde me doing nothing?] his zeale to Gods trueth, and courage in maintaining it, such, that he not only crushed the errors of the Church of *Rome*, but quelled like another *Hercules* so many new monsters of opinions by the clubbe of Gods word, that the very mentioning the names of the authors, and summe of their seuerall heresies, would take vp much time and many lines: his sound and profound knowledge in his profession such, that *Melancthon*, no childe in Diuinitie, was wont to style him by an excellencie *The Diuine*: his temperance such, that for many yeres he tooke but one repast a day: his modesty such that by his will hee ordained after his death, there should be no monumēt erected to him, or so much as a Tombe-stone layed ouer him; yet *Beza* his Colleague would not spare to bestowe this ensuing Epitaph on him, which hee was able

able, as (vpon that sad occasion) vnwilling to afford, and the other (out of his deserts) as worthy, as (out of his modesty the crowne of all his other vertues) vnwilling to receiue.

*Roma ruentis terror ille maximus,
Quem mortuum lugent boni, horrescunt mali,
Ipsa à quo potuit virtutem discere virtus,
Cur adeo exiguo, ignotoque in cespite clausus
Caluinus lateat rogas?
Caluinum assidue Comitata modestia vinum
Hoc tumultu manibus condidit ipsa suis.
O te beatum cespitem tanto hospite:
O cui inuidere cuncta possint marmora.*

After his death many of the citizens who had often seene him before, yet much desired to see him againe, and many strangers came from forreine parts purposely to know him, and to bee knowen vnto him; among whom was a worthy Gentleman at that time Ambassador in France for the Queen of England: and howsoeuer malice haue found *Lucianus* in his name, charitie hath found *Aleuinus*.

B. C.

28.

Now it is the nature of all common people especially of Ilanders, not onely still to affect more and more ¹ noueltie and ² libertie, and to bee weary of their ³ olde Clergie, but also to ⁴ admire any thing that comes from beyond the Seas, and to cherish and comfort one another with reporting the good successe which Schismarikes and Rebels happen to haue against their lawfull Prelates, and ancient gouernours, and to impute all their good fortune to their new Religion. Hence it is come to passe that that doctrine which is indeed the lawfull doctrine of the Church of England; is neglected or contemned, as a relike or a ragge of Popery, and Caluins institutions being come from Geneva, and fairely bound up with

Clergie you meane the ancient forme of Ecclesiasticall gouernement, it remaines at this day vnaltered.

4 The admiring of all that comes from beyond seas, may better bee applied to your *Romane Catholikes* then any other to whom *omnis longinquum pro magnifico est*, as also their comforting one another with reports. 5 But by the Papists it is condemned as heretic.

¹ You haue made your obseruation good by your owne affecting of noueltie in the change of your religion.

² There must needs be more libertie in that profession where indulgences are so rife, and dispensations so easie.

³ If by the old

the

6 I cannot possibly conceive what you should mean by the *preface* of the Gospel in this place, except your intent be as well to scoffe at the Gospel, as at Caluim Insit.

7 I desire the sight of that Law which makes against the doctrine of it. 8 If it be cried up by voyces, it is by the voyces of the grauest Bishops, and learnedst diuines of our land, as I shew in mine answer. 9 By other places belike you meane the Netherlands, which I haue already answered.

the 6 Preface of the Gospel, is dispersed throughout all Schooles, Cities and Villages of England, and hath so infected Priest and people, as although it bee⁷ against law, yet is it⁸ cryed up by voyces to be the only current Diuinitie in Court and Countrey, in hope belike that it may one day serue the turne in England, as well as it hath done in Geneva, and in⁹ other places where it hath preuailed.

G. H.

28.

Your Countrey-men are herein much bound to you, in that you make *Ilanders* so much to affect novelty, ascribing their change of religion to the changeablenesse of their nature: whereas other nations in the continent of Europe, are by consent of those, who are interessed in neither, by nature more changeable then they. That *Polander* who first by his pen encountered his *Maiessties* Premonition, labouring to wype off the staine of the Powder-treason, from the religion of the actours, laid it vpon the nature of an *Englishman*, whom in all religions he accuses to be naturally disloyall to his Prince; to his imputation of disloyalty, you adde the affectation of novelty, thereby to lay a staine vpon our religion: But, *Qui mala non mutat, in bonis non persenerat*. The seruant is not about his lord, nor the disciple about his master: and we know that it was the question which the *Iewes* propoed to our Saniour, [** What new doctrine is this? **] and of the *Greccians* to S. Paul, [** May wee not know what this new doctrine wherof thou speakest is? **] but we may truely answer both in their defence, and our owne, *Nos non sumus nouatores, sed vos estis veteratores*. It is not we that affect novelty: but you the counterfeit face of antiquity, thereby labouring to make a peace, and to strike a league with vs, as the Gibeonites did with *Ioshua*, * deceiuing him by the shew of old sackes, olde bottles, old shooes, old garments, and bread that was drie and moldy. You farther charge vs with comforting one another in re-

porting

* *Matth. 1. 27.*

* *Acts 17. 18.*

2 *Consentimus in eo quod conuenit, non in eo quod receptum est.*

Idcirco mori retentio rei turbulenta aqua ac nouitas.

* *Iosh. 9. 4. 5.*

porting the good ſucceſſe which Schiſmatikes and rebels happen to haue againſt their gouernors, whereas the very enemies of thoſe whome you call Schiſmatikes and Rebels haue bene many times inforced to acknowledge their good ſucceſſe to haue come, not ſo much from good fortune, as from the extraordinary hand of God; ſo that they haue bene conſtrained to crie out with Pharaohs ſorcerers, The finger of God is here. At the ſiege of Rochell, the inhabitants being brought to great want, (as Thuanus reports it) euery tide were brought in a kinde of ſhel-fiſh, (he calleth them *Surdones*, or *Petunculos*) which I take to bee little ſcallops or muſcles, and that in great abundance, for the relieuing of the beſieged; they hauing neuer bene ſcene vpon that coaſt before that time, nor ſince. Of Ziska the Bohemian, Aeneas Syluius, afterwards Pius the ſecond (being Pius indeed before he was ſo in name) recorded it to poſterity, that eleuen times in fought battels, hee returned conquerour out of the field, and was himſelfe neuer foiled. The Duke of Medina, Generall of the Spaniſh inuincible nauy, ſent againſt vs for the rooting of vs out in the yeere 1588. and bleſſed by the Apoſtolicall benediction, when hee ſaw how the windes, and the waues, and the ſtarrs in their order fought againſt them, profeſſed he thought Ieſu Chriſt was turned Lutheran. [*Hiſpanus ipſe* (ſaith our famous Annaliſt) *Cladem acceptam, ut à Deo, compoſito animo tulit, Deoq; et Sanctis quod non triſtior fuerit gratias egit, et per Hiſpaniam agi iuſſit.* The King of Spaine himſelfe tooke the blow patiently, as giuen by God, and both himſelfe gaue thanks, and commanded his Subiects through Spaine to doe the like, that it fell no heauier:] in the conſideration of which admirable ſucceſſe, we might apply that to our Church and Religion, which was written of the Emperour Theodoſius.

Omniū dilecta Deo, cui militat equor,

Et conſtrati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

Vpon that occaſion, and not without reaſon were ſome coynes ſtamped, with this inſcription: *Glory to God alone*, others with this, *Man propoſeth, God diſpoſeth*: and laſtly, others with this, *Impius fugit, nemine ſequentē*. Which all tend to this purpoſe, that it was God fought for vs in the maintainance of his

*Camden in viſa
Regi: Eliz. ab.*

In lib. in quo par-
tium Belgarum mo-
tibus exortis, &c.

owne cause. I will conclude this point with the testimonie of *Bizarro an Italian*, and, for any thing I can find, no Protestant, speaking of our late renowned Soueraigne, [*Quod verò ad me attinet, id tantum in presentia dixerim, Elizabetham Britannia Reginam, singulari Desopt. max. bonitate, ac providentia gubernari. Quamvis enim ipsamet egregià virtute ac sapientia prædita sit, et apud se consiliarios habeat summo iudicio, summamq. prudentia præstantes; tamen satendum est humana consilia per sepe inania reddi, nisi ea divinius regantur: Id vero ut ita esse iudicem, superiorum temporum facit recordatio, cum cogito quot interni externiq. hostes huic opt. Regine insidiati sint, et quam mirabiliter illam Deus ab eorum insidijs, atq. conatibus eripuerit.* Touching my selfe, I will onely say this for the present, that *Elizabeth Queene of Britanny*, hath beene hitherto preserved by the singular goodnesse and providence of almighty God. For though her selfe be indued with singular vertue and wisdom, and shee have about her Counsellours of excellent iudgement and foresight in the managing of her affaires, yet must wee confesse that humane Counsels are often frustrated, vnlesse they bee guided from heauen; and that I should so thinke, the remembrance of the passages of latter times inforceth me, when I call to minde how many home-bred and forraine enemies have layed in waite for the life of that vertuous Queene; and how miraculously God hath freed her from all their plots and assaults.]

You goe forward, and tell vs that from hence it is come to passe, that the lawfull doctrine of the Church of England is contemned as a rage of Popery, and Caluins Institutions cried up by voyces in Court and Countrey, in hope it may one day serue the like turne in England, as it hath done in Geneva, as if Geneva had not discharged her selfe of the claime of her Bishop and Duke, before Caluin compiled his *Institutions*, or as if we knew not that *Caluins Institutions* make nothing against the government of lawfull Magistrates; or if it bee a booke so dangerous as you would make it, a wonder it is to mee, that neither your selfe nor any as yet of that side, haue so much as vndertaken a through confutation of it. Must it needes be that all who imbrace his paines and learning in those *Institutions*, intend the subuer-

subuersion of the state, or presently *contemne the doctrine of the Church of England*? Your olde Master, Archbishop *Whitegift* was of another minde, who maintained to his vtmost the *doctrine of the Church of England*, and yet gaue he *Caluin* his due also, labouring alwayes where any occasion was offered, to countenance his writings with *Calvins* authority, and specially out of that booke which you most mislike, yeelding him the title of a famous and learned man: Nay, euen in the vse of things indifferent, hee giues this testimonie of his iudgement and moderation. [¹ If *Mr. Caluin* were aliue, saith he, and rightly vnderstood the state of our Church and Controuersie, truly I verely belecue that hee would condemne your doing, and I am the rather induced to thinke so, because I vnderstand him to haue allowed many things in the *English Church*, being at *Geneua*, which you altogether mislike.] To this Archbishops testimonie, I could adde the opinion of his predecessours, *Cranmer Grindal*, and *Parker*, gathered out of their seuerall Epistles to *Caluin* and other writings; but I will content my selfe with that of Bishop *Iewell*, who was so far frō neglecting or *contemning the doctrine of the Church of England*, as a relique or ragge of *Poperie*, as that the Confession extant in his Apologie for our Church, is registred as the authentick *doctrine* of our Church, as well in the body, as in the harmony of Confessions: But Archbishop ² *Whitegift* goeth farther, making both his Apology & the defence therof, to be the *doctrine of the Church of England*: And by this Archbishops authority was it ordered, that those his bookes should be bought of euery Parish, and chained in their Churches to be read of the people at vacant times: Yet this worthy Bishop in the defence of his Apologie, ³ termeth *Caluin* a *reuerend Father*, and *worthy ornament of the Church of God*. Now touching his booke of *Christian Institution* in particular, *M. Hooker* (who is well knowne not to haue *contemned the doctrine of the Church of England*, as a *ragge of Poperie*) thus writes. [Two things (saith he speaking of *Caluin*, in his Preface to his bookes of *Ecclesiasticall policie*) of principall moment there are, which haue deseruedly procured him honour through the world: The one his exceeding

¹ Tract. 2. cap. 4.

² Tract. 8. cap. 3. diuis. 31.

³ Cap. 7 diuis. 4.

paines in composing the *Institutions of Christian religion*: The other his no lesse industrious trauales for exposition of holy Scripture, according to the same *Institutions*: In which two things whatsoever they were that afterward bestowed their labour, he gained the aduantage of preiudice against them, if they gaine-sayed, and of glory about them, if they consented: Then which I cannot imagine what could bee vttered more effectually. Thus malice would not suffer you to see that worth in *Caluin* and his Writings, which these Worthies professed and published, who were notwithstanding more earnest and zealous Patrones of the doctrine of the Church of England, then your selfe: But it may be you thought it would bee credit enough for you onely to enter the lists with so stout and renowned a champion: howbeit, to hunt after applause by dishonouring the names of famous men, was held by *S. Ierome*, and is accounted by all good and wise men, but a tricke of vaine and childish arrogancie, there being lesse comparison betwixt *Carier* and *Caluin*, then *Caluin* and *Stapleton*, whom notwithstanding ⁴ a great Diuine and publike professour of one of our owne Vniuersities, comparing together, professeth there was more sound Diuinity in *Caluins* little finger, then *Stapletons* head or whole body. I will conclude mine answer to this Section, with the words of a graue ⁵ Bishop yet liuing, no enemy to the doctrine of the Church of England, as his Writings shew: *Caluin* is so well knownen (sayeth hee) to all those that bee learned or wise, for his great paines and good labours in the Church of God, that a fewe snarling Friars cannot impeach his name, though you would neuer so wretchedly peruert his words. J Thus much of *Caluin* and his Writings, for I durst not goe so farre as *Thurinus*.

⁴ D. Whitakers
duplications,
cap. 1.

⁵ B. Bilson in
his booke of the
true difference
betweene, &c.
part. 1. pag. 509.

*Præter Apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas,
Huic peperere viro sacula nulla parem.*

B. C.

29.

These reasons or rather corruptions of State haue so confounded the doctrine of the Church of England; and so slandered the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as it hath turned mens braines, and made the multitude on both sides like two fooles, which being set backe to backe doe thinke they are as farre asunder, as the horizons are, they looke vpon: But if it please your Maieſtie to ¹ command them to turne each of them but a quarter about, and looke both one way to the seruice of God, and your Maieſtie, and to the ſaluation of ſoules, they ſhould preſently ſee themſelues to bee a great deale more neere in matters of doctrine, then the Punitan call Preachers on ² both ſides doe make them beleene they are. I can not in the breuity of this diſcourſe deſcend into particulars; but if it please your Maieſtie to command me, or any other honeſt man that hath taken paines, to vnderſtand and obſerue ³ all ſides freely, and plainly to ſet downe the ⁴ difference betwixt Caluinisme, and the doctrine of England, eſtabliſhed by Law, and then to ſhew Locos Conceſſos, and Locos Controuerſos, betwixt the Church of England and the Church of Rome, I doubt not but the diſtance that will be left betwixt for matter of doctrine, may by your Maieſty be eaſily compounded.

Preachers then on your ſide, as well as on ours: belike you meane the *Leſuits*, with whom notwithstanding, if we may beleue *Pelham* report, you ſided at your coming to *Paris*, and dyed amongſt them. ⁴ How wel you vnderſtood all ſides, I made it appeare before in the Controuerſie of Images, in the meantime you do wel to commend your own honeſtie and learning. ⁵ The difference betwixt theſe three, I haue already ſet downe, and if the matter of doctrine may by his Maieſtie be compounded, it muſt either be by abrogating the *Trident Canons*, or the *Engliſh Articles*, or by reconciling the one to the other, the impoſſibilitie wherof, things ſtanding in theſe termes they doe, I haue already proued.

G. H.

29.

Whether reason or rather corruption of State haue not bred confuſion rather in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, then of England,

England, let *Romes* infinite ambition and insatiable couetousnesse, masked vnder pretence of *doctrine* testifie. As long as the Bishops of *Rome* kept them to their profession in the gaining of soules to God, matters went well for *doctrine*: but when once they turned Statists, & in stead of gaining soules, cast about for the government of the world, then were their Friars and flatterers found, who were as readie to shape and frame her *Doctrine* according to the modell of State. Before the Councill of *Trent* (which was called in the memorie of some yet living) it is made euident by my learned brother D^r. *Carleton* in his Consent of the Catholike Church against the *Tridentines*, that the *Doctrine* of the rule of Controuerfies of the Church, of Iustifying Faith, of Grace, was the same in the Church of *Rome*, which is now publicly taught and professed with vs. If by the Church of *Rome*, we will vnderstand her chiefe Prelates, not those Friars and flatterers which belonged rather to her Court then her Church; from whence then arose this confusion of *doctrine* which followed after, but onely from that corruption of State which went before? and yet it cannot but bee acknowledged, that as our bodies first warme our clothes, and then our clothes serue to keepe warme our bodies: so the corruption of State first brought forth this confusion of *doctrine*; but being brought forth, the daughter serues to nourish and maintaine the mother. Now for the confounding of our *doctrine*, wee answer with S. Paul, [* If our Gospel (saith he) be hid, it is hid to them that are lost.] So we if our *doctrine* bee confounded, it is to them whom the God of this world hath confounded and blinded, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of CHRIST, who is the image of God, should shine vnto them.

The second thing which you charge vs with, is the slandering the *doctrine* of the Church of *Rome*: and are your *Romanists* cleare of that accusation; or dare any man of iudgement and learning discharge them? doth not ¹ *Pererius* accuse *Catharinus* for calling that an intollerable and desperate opinion of *Luther* touching Reprobation, which notwithstanding was the same opinion, and none other (as *Pererius* confesseth) then ² S. *Augustine* maintained touching the same point? Doth

not

¹ In C. p. 9. ad
Rom. disp. 5.

² Cum ex tamen
ipsum a se D.
Augustini sen-
tentia.

not ³ *Reynolds* our Countrey man (howbeit otherwise maliciously bitter against *Caluin*, specially in his *Caluino Turcisme*) in his iudgement free *Caluin* from the imputation of making God the authour of sinne in his latter yeeres, which notwithstanding is still pressed vpon him, both by your selfe and others? Doth not ⁴ *Bellarmino* cleare him from making the second person in Trinitie to be from himselfe, and not from the first, with which error notwithstanding hee is charged by ⁵ *Genebrard*, by ⁶ *Lyndan*; by ⁷ *Canisius*? And for our owne Church doth not ⁸ *Bristow* affirme, that our Religion is prooued by experience to be indeed no Religion? Doth not ⁹ *Allen* speaking of our Sacraments, Seruice, and Sermons, call them things which assuredly procure damnation? Doth not *Reynolds* in the booke before named, endeavour to make our Religion worse then the *Turkish*, not distinguishing betwixt *Caluinisme*, and the doctrine of the Church of England? But one example for all may be that lewd libeller, who in the very entrance of his libell exclaimeth, [*That the Protestants haue no Faith, no Hope, no Charitie, no Repentance, no Iustification, no Church, no Altar, no Sacrifice, no Priest, no Religion, no Christ.*] What shall we say to these intemperate Spirits? if they speake of malice, then I say with *Michael* the Archangel. **The Lord rebuke them*: But if they speake of ignorance, then I say with the holy Martyr *S. Stenen* **Lord lay not this sinne to their charge*, or with our blessed SAVIOUR, **Father forgive them they wote not what they doe*. Now for our slandering the doctrine of the Church of Rome, when you or any other shall produce the like Assertions out of any Writer amongst vs of note and credite, I shall be content to yeelde farther credite to your Assertion, then as yet I finde reason I should: for the residue of this Section I referre the Reader to my marginall notes, as deserving, in my iudgement, no better or other answer.

³ *Caluino Turcis.*
lib. 1. cap. 7.

⁴ *De Christo* lib. 3
cap. 19.

⁵ *Lib. 1^o. de Trinitate.*

⁶ *Secunda dialogo quem inscribit Dubitans.*

⁷ *In Praefatione libri de Sancto Ioh. Baptista.*

⁸ *Demond* 48.

⁹ *Apol. cap. 1.*

* *Iude* 9.

* *Mat.* 7. 60.

* *Luke* 23. 34.

B. C.

30.

But perhaps there is so great opposition in matter of State, that
although

although the doctrine might bee compounded, yet it is impossible to heare of agreement; and if there bee the same reason of State which there was in beginning, and continued all Queene Elizabeths dayes, there is as little hope now that your Maiestie should hearken unto Reconciliation, as then was that King Henry the VIII. or Queene Elizabeth would: but when I doe, with the greatest respect I can, consider the State of your Maiestie, your Lords, your Commons, and your Clergie, I do see as little cause in holding out in reason of State as I doe in truth of doctrine,

¹ Yet in the next Section you assure vs that King Henry wished himselfe in the Church againe.

G. H.

30.

From the matter of doctrine you passe to the reason of State, in which, if your reasons be of no greater waight or truth then in the former, his Maiestie, his Lords, his Commons, his Clergie, haue no more reason to hearken to reconciliation with Rome, then King Henry, or Queene Elizabeth, or the Subiects in their times had: which hee that lookes not through the spectacles of a preiudicate opinion, will as easily discover, as you confidently affirme the contrary.

B. C.

31.

¹ Were not those favorites Roman Cath.

² He dispensed not with himself, but the Archbishop of Camerbury dispensed wth him by the consent of our owne & many forraigne Vniuersities, all our Bishops concurring therein, onely Rochester excepted.

King Henry the VIII. although hee had written that Booke against the Schisme of Luther, in defence of the See Apostolike, for which he deserved the title of Defensor fidei, yet when he came way to the lust of Anne Bullen, and the flattery of his ¹ favorites, and saw hee could not otherwise haue his will, he excluded the Pope, and made himselfe Supream head of the Church, that so hee might not onely ² dispence with himselfe for his lust, but also supplie his excesse with the spoyle of the Church, which was then very rich: But when hee saw God blessed him not, neither in his winning nor in his thrining, hee was weary of his Supremacie before he died,

and

and wished himselfe in the Church againe: but hee died in the curse of his father, whose¹ foundations he overthrew, and hath neither child to honour him, nor so much as a Tombe upon his graue to remember him, which some men take to bee a token of the Curse of God.

¹ His fathers chiefe foundation I take to be the Chappel he built at Westminster, and that he overthrew not.

G. H.

31.

King Henry the VIII. wrote a¹ Booke indeed, or at least a Booke was in his name written, in defence of the seven Sacraments, against Luther, (as M^r. Doctor might haue learned, if no where else, yet out of Cardinall Bellarmins Apologie.) But in defence of the See of Rome (which hee calls Apostolike,) I haue not mette with any; and it should seeme by his mistake of the subiect, handled in that booke, himselfe neuer mette with it: as for the Title which King Henry receiued, the world is not ignorant, how liberall his Holinesse is in bestowing Titles, where hee expects some greater aduantage, sticking down a feather that hee may quietly carrie away the goose.² Thus did hee giue Charles the Emperour, neere about the same time, the Title of *Defensor Ecclesie*, for directing a Writ of Outlawrie against Luther, whereupon at the Emperours beeing here in England, those verses were set vp in the Guildhall in London, ouer the doore of their Councell Chamber, where they yet remaine.

*Carolus Henricus viuant, defensor uterque:
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie.*

And in the Bull, by which Leo the tenth confirmed this Title to the King, subscribed with his owne name, and the names of fīue and twentie Cardinals and Bishops, it appeares that their chiefe scope of honouring him with this Title was, to tye him and his posteritie faster to that See: But as a learned and graue Prelate of our owne hath well obserued, being the high Priest for that yeere (not so in the next)³ he foretold by way of propheticke what the King of England should bee, which we find to the

¹ *Qui denique non
7. Sacramenta, ob
quorum defensionem
Titulus datus
est, sed duo vel tria
tantum esse contem-
dit, pag. 10.*

² Thus did hee intitle Philip the 2. King of Spaine to Ireland, in the yeere 1580.

*Carolus viuat
defensor fidei
ecclesie,
Non. 2*

³ *Ad Card. Bell.
Respons. pag. 55.*

the honour of CHRIST, and the glory of our kingdome, most truly and happily accomplished in our *Gracious Soueraigne*, now reigning, who hath to the utmost defended the truly Christian and Catholike faith by his Pen, and will no doubt bee as ready to doe it, when occasion shal serue, with his sword: and yet were it not for feare of crossing your imaginarie *reconciliation*, you would with *Bellarmino* tell vs, that his *Maiestie* in present, as vnderferuedly retaines that *Title*, as King *Henry* receiued it deseruedly, who afterward notwithstanding as deeply incurred his *Holineffe* disfaueur, as well by calling into question that *Title* which the Bishops of *Rome* had assumed to themselves, of *Pastours vniuersall*, *S. Peters successors*, and *Christ Vicars*: as by resuming to himselfe that *Title* which some of the *Popes* had yeilded his predecessours, as may appeare in the Letter of *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, to *Lucius* King of *Great Britaine*, in which *Eleutherius* attributeth to the King the *Title* of *Gods Vicar* within his kingdome: which letter, howsoeuer the Authour of the *Threefold conuersion* labour to flame with the blemish of forgery, yet is it to be found⁴ inrolled in the Copie of King *Edward* the Confessors Lawes.

Neither is it true, that *Henry* tooke this *Title* to himselfe: it was giuen him by the *Parliament* of his Lords, and Commons, and *Conuocation* of his Clergie, not as a new thing but as renewed. And if he were desirous to change his bedfellow in hope of beiret male, as you tell vs before, it was not to giue way to the lust of *Anne Bulleine*, as here you affirme; and if hee might haue had his will in being dispensed with by yeelding to the *Popes* will, in ioyning with *Francis* the French King, against the Emperour *Charles* as before it is proued, then did he not exclude the *Pope*, & take that *Title* to dispence with himselfe, especially being mouued with the approbation of so many Vniuersities and learned men: But if thereby he made himselfe a way for the supply of his excesse with the spoyle of the Church, wee haue not wherein so iustly to excuse him, howbeit hee conuerted much of it to good vses, namely to the erecting of fixe Bishopricks, to wit, *Westminster*, *Chester*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford*, *Bristol* and *Gloucester*, whereof the fiue last are yet in being; at which time

hee

4 Lib. de Prisca
Anglorum legibus,
fol. 171. The origi-
nall of which
Treatise was pre-
served in the Li-
brary of the Cite
of London, and
there found and
published by Mr.
Lambert.

hee also erected at *Canterbury* a Deane with 12. Prebends, at *Winchester* another with 12. more, at *Worcester* another with ten, at *Chester* another with fixe, at *Peterborough* another with fixe, at *Oxford* another with eight, at *Ely* another with eight, at *Gloucester* another with fixe, at *Bristol* another with fixe, at *Carlisle* another with foure, at *Durham* another with twelue, at *Rocheſter* another with fixe, and laſtly, at *Norwich* another with fixe; ſo that wee haue good reaſon to thinke he returned againe to the Church much out of the Abbey lands: and if, notwithstanding all this, God bleſſed him not in his thriving, wee haue nothing elle to anſwere but that of *Salomon*, [*It is a ſnare to the man who denoureth that which is holy, and after vowes to make inquiry*]

But in his miſuing hee ſo bleſſed him, (though in this too hee ſhewed himſelfe a man, and conſequently ſubiect to humane paſſion, and frailty) that three of his children ſucceſſiueſly wore the Crown after him, of which the firſt was renowned for his vertue beyond his age, and the laſt beyond her Sexe; of the one, and his mother it was written,

Phoenix Ianaſacet, nato Phoenix; dolendum.

Sacra Phoenix nulla tuliffe duas.

And to the other might bee applied,

Non decor efficit fragilem, non ſceptra ſuperbam,

Sola potens humilis, ſola pudica decens.

And though they all died without iſſue, yet doth his honour ſtill liue in theirs. *Henry* the II, of *France* died in the vnitie of the Church of *Rome*; yet three of his ſonnes reigning after him left the Crown to a neighbour Prince, as the children of *Henry* the VIII heere with vs did, yet none that I haue met with hold him in that regard accuſed of God, and if in that reſpect God curſed *Henry*, becauſe hee renounced the pretended authoritie of the Church of *Rome*, then ſhould hee by vertue of that reaſon haue bleſſed *Henries* eldeſt daughter with iſſue, who with great ſubmiſſion and deuotion reconciled her ſelfe to that Church, and married to the moſt Catholike King; and though the world were for a while ſo borne in hand; yet in the

ſ Besides all this hee beſto wed the reuenues of the *Gray Friars* in *London* vpon the *Citie of London*, toward the reliefe of their poore, making of the *Friery* a *Parish Church*, whereunto hee gaue 500. marks yerely of lands for euer: one thouſand marks alſo hee commanded to be giuen to the poore, and to twelue poore *Knights at Windſore*, each of them twelue pence a day for euer.

end the great and solemne expectation thereof vanished into smoake.

Now that *Henrie* was wearie of his title of Supremacie before he died, it appeares not, and that hee wished to bee reconciled to the Pope, which you call, *being in the Church againe*, is as unlikely, since no doubt is to bee made, but vpon notice giuen of his Contrition, and desire of Satisfaction, hee might as easily haue beene absolued as wished it: But certaine it is, that hee wished it not, if we may make coniecture of his wishes from those speeches, which a little before his death hee deliuered to *Monsieur de Hammibault*, Lord Admirall of France, and Ambassadour to the French king, being then at *Hampton Court* in the moneth of *August*, and in the yeere 1546. in the hearing of *Crammer* Lord Archbishop of *Canterburie*, concerning the reformation of Religion, and afterwards more neere his death, and more openly to *Bruno* Ambassador of *Iohn Frederick* Duke of *Saxonie*, vnto whom the King gaue this answer, in the hearing of these foure sufficient witnesses, the Lord *Seymer*, Earle of *Hartford*, Lord *Lisley*, then Admirall, the Earle of *Bedford*, Lord *Prinie Seale*, and the Lord *Paget*, [That if the quarrell of the Duke of *Saxonie* were nothing else against the Emperour, but for matter of Religion, he should stand to it strongly, and hee would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor feare,] and with this answer dismissed him. Besides the manner of his sonne and heire Apparent, Prince *Edwards* education, the qualitie and disposition of those persons whom he named as the principall overseers of his Will, (from which number hee excluded the Bishop of *Winchester*, the most busie and forward instrument in those times, for the maintenance of the *Romish* Religion, though hee had once admitted him, and was earnestly solicited by some of his bed-chamber to readmit him) are to mee so many euident demonstrations, that hee was so farre from wishing reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, that hee rather desired

desired and intended, if God had spared him life a while longer, some more full and perfect reformation of Religion: But the secret working of Gods holy providence which disposeth all things after his owne wisdom and purpose, thought it good, rather by taking that King away, to reserve the accomplishment of that worke (as he did the building of his Temple to *Solomon*;) to the peaceable time of his sonne *Edward*, and *Elizabeth* his daughter, whose hands were vndefiled with any blood, and life vnspotted with any violence or crueltie.

Lastly, not content to rippe vp the disgraces of his life, you dogge him to his very graue, bearing vs in hand, *that he was accursed of God, in as much as hee wanted a Tombe*; which was the want also of *Queene Mary* his daughter: But if *the want of a Tombe* be a token of *Gods Curse* vpon *Henry*, then the hauing of it must consequently be a token of his blessing vpon *Elizabeth*, whom notwithstanding you wrappe in the same *Curse*: Nay how many of your Bishops of *Rome* then are *Cursed of God*, of whom a number are not onely *without Tombes*; but some in the first age of the Church, by the fury of their persecutors, and some in latter times, by the malice of their Successors without *Graves* also? Indeed wee reade of *Dauid*, a man after Gods owne heart: * *His Sepulchre is with vs vnto this day* But of *Moses* a faithfull seruant in all the house of God, * *No man knoweth of his Sepulchre vnto this day*. And yet in my remembrance we read it no were, that either *Dauid* was more blessed of God for the one, or *Moses* cursed for the other; the heathen Roet could tell vs,

* *Mat. 23. 29.** *Deut. 34. 6.*

Cælo regitur, quinon habet urnam.

And *S. Augustine* that these kinde of Monuments and Memorials, are [*Solatia viuorum*, not *subsidia mortuorum*, comforts only for the liuing; no helps for the dead] and many noble spirits may be of *Catoes* minde, desirous rather that after their deaths, it should be demanded [why they haue no statue erected to their memory, then why they haue one.] This I speake onely to shew that had hee had no *Tombe*, yet were it no great dishonor to him: But if we may credite the last, but not

the worst compiler of the Historie of our Countrey, hee was with great solemnitie buried at *Windsor*, vnder a most costly and stately Tombe, begun in copper and gilt, but neuer finished; In the inclosures of whose grates is curiously cast this Inscription. *Henricus Octauus, Rex Anglie, Francie, Dominus Hibernie, Fidei defensor*. And that it might appeare to posteritie how Artificiall and Magnificent this worke was intended, he there sets downe the seuerall parcels and pieces of the Modell thereof, as he found it described in a *Manuscript*, receiued from Mr. *Lancaster*, one of the *Herwalds* at *Armes*, the title whereof was this.

The maner of the Tombe to be made for
the Kings Grace at *Windsor*.

So that I cannot but woonder, how either our *Historiographer* and our *Herault* should be so much mistaken, or (which I rather thinke) how Mr. Doctor, so great a Politician, should be so sowlly deceiued, and so confidently leade others into the same error.

I will conclude this Section, with the conclusion of our famous *Annalist*, touching this Prince, [*Princeps Magnanimus, in cuius maximo ingenio inerat, confuso quodam temperamento, virtutes magna, & vitia non minora*. A stout and gallant Prince he was, in whose braue spirit a man might obserue, blended and tempered together, by a rare kinde of mixture, great vertues, and no lesse vices.] But had he honoured the See Apostolike, as much at last, as hee did at first, his vices had beene buried in silence, and his vertues highly extolled: whereas now by opposing himselfe against it; his vertues are suppressed, and his vices racked vpon tenterhookes, and set vpon the Stage; which course were enough to make the best Princes, nay the best men to appeare monsters to the world.

Queene ELIZABETH, although she were the daughter of Schisme, yet at her first coming to the Crowne, shee would have the Common Prayer Booke and Catechisme set downe, that shee might both by English Service satisfie the Commons, who were greedy of alteration, and by Catholike opinions, gave hope to her neighbour Princes, that shee would herselfe continue Catholike, and all her life long shee caried herselfe so betwixt the Catholikes and the Calvinists, as shee kept them both still in hope: But yet being the daughter of the breach-maker, and having both her Crowne and her life from the Schisme, it was both dishonourable and dangerous for her to hearken to Reconcilement: And therefore after shee was provoked by the¹ Excommunication of Pius Quintus, shee did suffer such Lawes to be made by her Parliaments, as might cry quittance with the Pope and Church of Rome: This course seemed in policie necessary for her, who was the daughter of King Henrie the VIII. by Anne Bulleine, borne with the contempt of Rome, the disgrace of Spaine, and the preiudice of Scotland.

¹ Out of this Bull, as out of the Trojan horse, issued so many Conspiracies as followed after.

G. H.

32.

From Henry the father you descend to Elizabeth, the daughter (as you call her) of Schisme: howbeit shee were indeede the Nurfing mother of the Church. And for the Common prayer Booke which shee allowed, it was the same, with very litle alteration, which was current by publike authority, during the reigne of her brother King Edward: So that it was no invention of hers to satisfie the Commons, as you falsely suggest, but an imitation of her renowned brother for the satisfying of her owne conscience, and the furtherance of the service of God in a knowen language. You adde that by Catholike opinions shee gave hope to her neighbour Princes, that shee would continue a Catholike: whereas the world knowes that her mother was otherwise affected, being brought vp in France, vnder the Lady Margret Alençon,

Mich. Sande.

* 1. Tim. 3. 5.

con, a principal fauouresse of the Protestant religion there, after shee had a while waited vpon *Q. Mary*, yonger sister to king *Henry* the VIII. and wife to *Lewes* the XII. the French king, and as long vpon *Claudia*, sister to the *Guise*, and wife to *Fran- cis* the first; and in regard she was this way affected, the holy maide of *Kent*, was by Clergie men suborned to prophetic a- gainst her, and (as one writes) it seemeth very plaine, that the crimes supposd against her, were matters contriued by the *Pope*, and his instruments her chiefeest enemies, none of them all that were accused in the same treason confessing the ac- cused vnto death, but haue left direct testimonies in writing to the contrary, (one meane groome excepted, namely *Marke Smeton*, who made confession vpon some promise of life belike, but was executed before he was aware, or had time to recall what he had said,) Now the mother being thus affected, and that before king *Henry* cast his affection towards her, or disaf- fected *Rome*, in likelihood the daughter had benee that way also affected, whether the breach with *Rome* by her mothers marriage had bene made or no. It was *S. Pauls* argument to *Timothie*, [** that the faith first dwells in his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice, and therefore he was well perswaded of him also.*] He argues not from his father and his grandfather, but from his mother, and his grandmother; so may we by the same reason, from the faith, which dwelt in the mother of *Queene Elizabeth*, make some coniecture of her faith, that it was not different from her mothers: But her education vnder *Roger Ascham*, (who was himselfe that way affected, & to cōtinue her so, read vnto her among other authors for her diuinity exercise, *Melancthon*s common places) will yet farther cleare this matter: but the suspicion cast vpon her, (though most vniustly) as ha- uing a finger in *Wyats* conspiracy, and *Stories* damnable aduise [*to leaue lopping at the branches, and strike at the roote,*] will put it out of doubt; and doubtlesse as in that regard shee suffered much hardenesse, during the raigne of her sister, so had shee not suruiued to haue worne the Crowne, had not God in his prouidence moued the heart of the *Spaniard* to preserve her alive, not so much out of any loue of her person, or pittie of her ruefull

ruefull eſtate, as out of reaſon of ſtate, leſt ſhe being taken out of the way, and her ſiſter dying (as ſhe did) without iſſue, the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, might in time be vnited and annexed to the Crowne of *France*, by meanes of the Lady *Mary*, *Queene of Scotland* (next heire in right after *Queene Elizabeth*) then affianced to *Francis Dolphin* of *France*, and heire apparent to *Henry* the ſecond, the *French King*; then which the *Spaniards* thought nothing could happen more diſaſterous to their affectation of greatneſſe.

Besides all this, being as ſhe was the miracle of her ſexe and ranke, for wit and learning, it is not improbable that, as the knowledge of the Arts and Languages, and the light of the Goſpell brake forth both together; ſo in her perſon the one might haue prepared, and as it were beaten out a way for the entrance of the other, though neither her Mother had beene that way affected, nor her Father made any breach, as wee ſee his *Maieſtie* that now is, to the glory of God and our great comfort, though his Father were ſlaine before his birth, and his Mother liued and died in that Religion, in which ſhee was brought vp, yet by the excellencie of his naturall parts and learning (but eſpecially by the working of Gods holy ſpirit) hath attained to ſuch a light of Religion, that he hath not only diſcouered the trueth, but choſen and professed it being diſcouered, and with his Penne maintained and defended that which he profeſſeth. True indeede it is, that *Queene Elizabeth*, during the raigne of her ſiſter, tender both by ſexe and age, and wrought by the frowaes and threatens of *Cardinall Poole*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the *Popes* Legate, and in *England* the principall Proſtor and Champion, for the aduancing of his authority, was once brought to acknowledge that ſhee was a *Romane Catholike*, but herein ſhe did no more then *S^t. Peter* did (whoſe ſucceſſour the Biſhop of *Rome* pretendeth himſelfe) in denying his Maſter: No more then the Prince of *Condie*, the King of *Nauarre* and his ſiſter, who at the maſſacre of *Paris*, for feare renounced their Religion, and were by the *Cardinall of Bourbon* reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; though after ward being at liberty they reimbraced their former

mer profession: Nay, no more then *Queene Mary* her selfe, who being terrified with her Fathers displeasure, wrote him a Letter with her owne hand (yet to be scene) in which for ever she renounceth the *Bishop of Romes* authority in *England*, and acknowledging her Father vnder Christ supream head of the Church of *England*, confesseth his marriage with her Mother to haue beene vnlawfull and incestuous.

But I would faine know, after *Queene Elizabeth* came to the wearing of the Crowne, by what *Catholike opinions* shee gaue hope to her neighbour Princes that shee would continue *Catholike*? If it were so, (as M^r. Doctor would beare vs in hand) how was it that the reformed Churches through Christendome applauded her comming to the Crowne, as it had beene the appearance of some luckie starre, or the rising of some glorious Sunne for their Comfort and reliefe, and your pretended *Catholikes* hung downe their heads as if they had scene some Comet or blazing-starre? How she was then affected in religion, and so professed her selfe, may appeare, if no where else, yet in ¹ *Olorius* his Epistle which he wrote her not long after her comming to the Crowne, where he highly commends her for her wit, for her learning, for her clemencie, for her constancy, for her wisdome, for her modestie; but dissuades her by all the arguments he could inuent, from the opinions she had conceiued, and did expresse in the matter of Religion. *Pius Quartus* doth the like in his letter which he sent her about the same time by the hands of *Vincentius Parpalia*, Abbot of Saint *Sauours*, who as it appeares in the Letters, dated the 5th. of May 1560, had priuate instructions to impart to the *Queene*; among which the chiefe were thought to bee (as it is reported by the most diligent ² searcher of truth) that if she would reconcile her selfe to the Church of *Rome*, and acknowledge the Supremacie of that See, the *Pope* for his part would ³ bind himselfe to declare the sentence pronounced against her mothers marriage to be vniust, to confirme by his authority *The English Liturgie*, and to permit the administration of the Sacrament here in *England*, vnder both kinds: By which it appeares, that at that time shee then maintained the same opinions

¹ Cum accepistim quantum valeres ingenio, & quantos progressus in literis Graeci & Latini haberes, f. 2. p. 1.

² Quid admirabilius quam in femina virilem constantiam, in virgine scilicet prudentiam, in summa opum affluentia summam modestiam, laudem emineret, pag. 2.

³ Laudibus mansuetudinis & lenitatis, quae cum istius forma venustate consentiunt excellit, fol. 3. p. 1.

⁴ M. Camden in his Annals of Q. Elizabeth. fol. 58. where the copy of the letter is to be scene.

⁵ Hac curantibus aliquot annorum milia fuisse promissa fama obtinet, The same author.

nions, which during her life ſhee altered not. And here it may be worth the remembring, that the fourteenth day of *January*, about two moneths after her ſiſters death, as ſhee paſſed in her triumphall Chariot through the ſtreetes of *London*, when the Bible was preſented vnto her at the little Conduit in Cheape, ſhee receiued the ſame with both her handes, and kiſſing it, layd it to her breaſt, ſaying, [That the ſame had euer been her chiefeſt delight; and ſhould bee the rule by which ſhee meant to frame her gouernment.] Before this a Proclamation came forth, that the *Letanie*, the *Epistles*, and *Gospels*, the *Decalogue*, the *Creede* and the *Lords Prayer* ſhould bee read in all Churches in the *Engliſh* tongue; and though it were the 14th. of *May* after, being *Whiſſunday*, before the ſacrifice of the Maſſe was aboliſhed, and the booke of the vniformitie of *Common Prayer*, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments publickly receiued; and *Iuly* following, before the Oth of Supremacie was propoſed; and *Auguſt*, before the Images were by authority moued out of the Churches, broken and burnt; (ſo moderately did ſhee proceede in this buſineſſe of reformation by ſteppes and degrees) yet is it plaine, aſwell by the choyce of thoſe eight whom ſhe added to her ſiſters Counſell, beeing all in profeſſion Proteſtants (which *Pius 5th* in his *Bull* makes a part of his grieuous complaint) and thoſe whom ſhe either reſtored to their former dignities, or aduanced to new, being likewiſe as auerſe from the *Romane* Religion, as alſo by the reſuſall of *Nicholas Heath*, then Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, (the See of *Canterbury* by the death of *Cardinall Poole*, who deceaſed the ſame day that *Queene Mary* did, being then voide) and of the reſt of the chiefe⁶ Biſhops to annoint and conſecrate her at her Inauguration, it being therefore performed by *Owen Oglethorpe* Biſhop of *Carlile*: by theſe proceedings I ſay it is plaine, that at her firſt entrance to the Crowne, ſhe ſufficiently declared her ſelfe to bee the ſame in matter of Religion, as afterwards they found her.

Wherunto, if full ſatisfaction be not yet giuen in this point, for farther prooſe might be added, that when *Philip* of *Spaine* wooed her for marriage (the funerals of her ſiſter being not yet

4 Marqueſſe of North,
Earle of Bedford.
Thomas Parry
Edward Rogers.
Ambroſe Cam.
Francis Kneller.
William Cecil.
Nicholas Bacon
5 Will. Parr
Edward Seymour.
Thomas Howard
Henry Cary.
Oliuer Saint-Johns.
6 Bonner of London.
Tunſhall of Durham, White of Wincheſter, Watſon of Lincolne, Tharby of Ely, Bourne of Bath & Wells, Chriſtopherſon of Ciceſter, Baine of Com, and Leich. Turberuile of Exeter, Pole of Peterborough.

solemnized) The French King by his Agent the Bishop of Engolesme laboured (if it had gone forward) to stop their dispensation at Rome, vnder colour that Queene Elizabeth favoured the Protestants Religion, and the Earle of Feria, the Spaniards Agent here in England, bore our pretended Catholiks in hand, that except that match went forward, it could not goe well with them; so farre was shee at her first entrance from giving hope to her neighbours (as Mr. Doctor would perswade the world) of continuing or turning Catholike, by shew of Catholike opinions, vnlesse her retaining the ancient forme of Ecclesiasticall policie, and the godly Ceremonies vsed in the Primitive Church be accounted Catholike opinions, as in truth, if wee take the word Catholike aright, they may: But no maruell hee should thus boldly and falsely charge the dead, since hee spareth not in the same kinde his Maiestie now reigning, and by Gods grace long to reigne amongst vs, to the confutation of such slanders and confusion of such slanderers.

Hee goes on and tels vs, that *all her life long shee caried her selfe betwixt Catholikes and Calvinists, as shee kept them both still in hope*: But herein he mainly crosseth himselfe, as well in that which hee hath deliuered in the Section next saue one going before, that *[if there bee now the same reason of State, as there was all Queene Elizabeths dayes, there is as little hope that his Maiestie should hearken vnto reconciliation, as then there was that Q. Elizabeth would:]* as also in that which afterwards he addes in this Section, that *[being prouoked by the excommunication of Pius Quintus, shee did suffer such lawes to bee made by her Parliament, as might crie quittance with the Pope and Church of Rome.]* And in the next Section he sayth, *[It was necessary, in reason of State, to continue the doctrine of diuision, as long as the fruit of that doctrine did continue.]* Thus his owne testimonies, like the false witnesses which deposed against our Saviour, agree not together, but is it likely that shee caried her selfe all her life long with such indifferencie; considering shee sent helpe, both by men and money, to the Protestants in Germanie, in Scotland, in France, in the Netherlands; Shee harboured and succoured such Italians, French, and Dutch, as forsaking

king their owne Countreys for conscience sake, fled for refuge into her Dominions, as to a common Sanctuary of piety and Religion, affording them conuenient places for the exercise of their deuotions, in the Isles of *Terscy* and *Garnsey*, in *Hampton*, in *Norwich*, in *Sandwich*, in *Maidston*, in *Canterbury*, in *Colchester*, and in *London* it selfe: Moreover, shee that would not so much as admit *Pius Quartus* his Nuncio in the yeere 1561. to enter her Kingdome, though hee brought with him very friendly Letters from the Pope: Shee that would not bee intreated by the Emperour, and other Princes solicitations to send her Bishops or Ambassadors to the Council of *Trent*, nor to yeelde any toleration of the *Romish* Religion within her Dominions, alleaging that it would bee dishonourable to her selfe, repugnant to the decrees of her Parliament, preiudiciall to her Realme, pernicious to her Subiects, vnlawfull in it selfe, offensive to God, scandalous to her neighbour, and vnwise for the *Romane Catholikes* themselves: Shee that was sought vnto for marriage, from ⁷Scotland, from ⁸Denmarke, from ⁹Sweden, in regard of her Religion, and in treatise with the Emperour *Ferdinand* for his sonne *Charles*, and with the French King and Queenemother, first for the Duke of *Aniou*, afterwards King of *Poland* and *France*, by the name of *Henry* the third; and secondly for the Duke of *Alençon* his younger brother, commonly known by the name of *Monsieur*, afterwards Duke of *Aniou*; alwayes interposed this condition, That they should innoate nothing in Religion, onely hauing the exercise of their owne in some priuate place to themselves: Shee that in the yeere 1579 entertained with all honourable respect *Iohn Casimere*, sonne to *Frederike* the third, Count Palatine, and great Vncle to *Frederike* the fift, who now gouernes, him selfe a Protestant, and hauing led an armie of *Germanes* in defence of the Protestants, as well into *France* as into the *Netherlands*, bestowing on him the noble Order of the Garter, which with her own hands shee put on, together with many rich presents, and an yeerely pension during his life bestowed on him: Shee that was voyced by the Papists to conclude all her Parliaments with *Axes* and *Taxes*; because of her exactions vpon Recusants, and ri-

7 By the Earle of Arran.

8 Adolphus duke of Holst.

9 By Eriks king of Sweden.

gorous Lawes (as they pretended) against Seminary Priests & Ieluites; in regard whereof they compared her to *Nero* and *Dioclesian*, the most bloody Emperours and cruell persecutors of the *Christians*: Lastly, Shee that could not be won to yeelde one iote either by the flatteries and faire promises of *Paulus Quartus*, nor to shew any token of being dismayed or disheartened by the threats and thundering Bull of *Pius Quintus*, is it possible (I say) that she, who (notwithstanding all the difficulties & dangers that might from thence arise,) was from her cradle to her graue thus zealous and constant in her Religion, futable to that Motto, which she had chosen to her selfe, *Semper eadem*, should now be said or thought to haue carried her selfe all her life long so coldly & indifferently, as to haue giuen hope to both contrary factions.

[But being, you say, the daughter of the Breach-maker, & hauing both her Crowne and her life from the Schisme, it was both dishonourable and dangerous for her to hearken to Reconcilement:] whereas in truth she had her life, and held her Crowne from the Author of life and grand Commander of Crownes, to which shee had farre better right then hee, that would haue deposed her, to his triple Crowne, the one being helde of her by lawfull succession, (which had beene so acknowledged by the Bishop of Rome himselfe, would shee haue submitted herselfe to the power of that See,) but the other of him by vnlawfull vsurpation. And if in regarde shee was the daughter of the Breach-maker, it was both dishonourable and dangerous for her to hearken to Reconcilement, it must consequently follow, that likewise dangerous and dishonourable it would haue beene to keepe the Pontifician partie in hope: and though she were iustly prouoked by the biting Excommunication of *Pius Quintus*, being stricken by him before she was Legally cited or warned, in so much as some of the *Romish* Catholikes themselves, thought it a peece of rashnesse in that Pope so to deale with her, yet before this Bull was extant, shee gaue so little hope to those whom you call *Catholikes*, that the Pope therein labours to paint her forth as a barbarous and bloody Persecutor: and wee may well imagine, that had shee giuen such hope as you pretend

tend she did to the *Romanists*, the world had neuer heard the bellowing of that *Bull*: But thanks be ynto God * *The raine* ^{* Math. 7. 25.} ^{1. Cor. 10. 4.} fell, the floods came, the windes blew, and beat sore vpon her house; but it fell not: for it was founded vpon a *Rocke*, and that *Rocke* was *CHRIST*. During her happie and glorious raigne somewhat about the space of 44. yeeres, shee saw the change of no lesse then 8. *Popes*; *Paulus* the 4th. sitting in that See at her entrance, and *Clement* the eight at her death, betweene which two came these seuen, *Pius* 4. *Pius* 5. *Gregorie* 13. *Sextus* 5. *Vrban* 7. *Gregoria* 14. and *Innocent* the 9th. all which wrought more or lesse both against her Person and State; so that she might deservedly take vp that of the *Psalmist*: [** Many Bulles haue compassed me, strong Bulles of Basban* ^{* Psal. 22, 12, 13.} *haue beset me round, they gaped vpon mee with their mouthes, as a rauening and roaring Lyon*]: But being by his Gracious prouidence, (who set the Crowne vpon her head,) deliuered from all their snares, shee might well stampe that of the same *Psalmist* vpon her coyne as shee did, and with all no doubt vpon her heart: *Posui Deum adiutorem meum*, and sing with *Deborah* after her victory vpon *Sisera*. ^{* Iudg. 5. 21} ** O my soule, thou hast marched valiantly; or as some read it, thou hast troden downe strength*. Now that which sharpened her against *Pius Quintus*, was not onely his *Bull* (though that were in it selfe cause sufficient to inrage her) but the setting a worke of one *Ridolphus a Florentine*, who vnder the colour of Marchandizing, became the *Popes* agent for blowing the coales, and stirring vp the minds, as well of her owne Subiects, as of forraigne Princes against her, by whom the olde *Foxe* promised if need were to goe in person himselfe against her, and to lay to pawne if occasion so required all the goods of the See Apostolike, euen to the *Chalices*, the *Croriers*, the *Reliques* and the *Holy Vestments*: Besides all this he conferred an yeerely pension, and titles of honour vpon *Tho. Stanley* a¹⁰ discontented fugitiue, only for railing vpon her, and vainely bragging that he would set on fire her *Nauie*, and with three thousand *Spaniards* subdue *Ireland* to the *Spanish* dominion. These and many other sufficient reasons to prouoke her, we find recorded by *Hieronimus Catena*,

10 His discontent arose for being put by the Government of *Wexford* which he hoped for.

in the life of *Pius Quintus*, who was Secretarie to *Cardinal Alexandrin* that *Pope* Nephew, so that though he haue in that discourse discovered many things to the world, of *Pius* his proceedings against that *Queene*, before vnknown to our *English*, yet may wee well by reason of his place afforde him credite, as also in regarde his booke was Printed and published in *Rome* it selfe, with the Priuiledge and approbation of *Sixtus Quintus*, next Successor to *Pius* saue one.

And had she not good reason then to suffer such *Lawes* to bee made by her *Parliament*, as might crie quittance with the *Pope* and *Church* of *Rome*? Yet I will bee bold to say that lesse innocent blood, nay, lesse blood was shed in her 44. yeeres in maintenance of *Christs* and her owne authoritie, against the vsurpation of the *Pope*, then in her sisters foure yeeres in maintenance of the *Popes* vsurpation against her owne and her Successours lawfull authority, insomuch as an *Italian*, and hee no Protestant (as I guesse) giues this testimonie of her, [*Tanta extitit eius animi moderatio, atque innata clementia, ut non immerito, &c.* So great and so apparant was the moderation of her minde, and inbred clemencie, that not vnderfuerdly it may be said of her, which the ancient histories haue left to posteritie of *Alexander Seuerus*, borne of his mother *Mammæa*, (*Nempe Anamaton*) hoc est citra sanguinem: namely, that shee hath governed her kingdome without bloodshed, Cum suapte natura, semper à cadibus & crudelitate abhorreat, for euen her nature doth abhorre the thought of slaughter or crueltie.] & so he goeth on in a large discourse of her praise: And when he thus wrote, she had reigned twenty yeres, it being a maruell (as the late *Bishop* of *Lincolne* in his answer to *Parsons* hath well obserued) their *Index expurgatorius* had not scowred him ere this, and for this; nay, their owne Priests shall speake for *Queene Elizabeths* *Lawes*, who¹² say that [considering Iesuiticall practises shadowed vnder the cloake of Religion, all the *Lawes* enacted against *Catholikes*, were made with great moderation and clemencie, as coming from a Prince most milde and mercifull: nor haue they cause to vrge repeale of any Statute made, so long as *Iesuits* take such courses.] Nay, which is more, *Parsons* himselfe in the Preface to the first

¹¹ Bizar. hist. German. pag. 568.

¹² Quodlibet. pag. 269. 277.

first part of *his triple conuersion* commendeth *Queene Elizabeth* for her moderate gouernment, and that was in the last yeere of her reigne: and yet by the way it is worth the noting, that in one and the same leafe, hauing so commended her, in one page (may then she was aliue) in the very next page, (for then he heard shee was dead) in a Preface to his *Maiestie*, he compares her to *Dioclesian* for crueltie, whereas her sobrietie and clemencie was such, that her brother King *Edward* was wont commonly to call her, *His sweete sister Temperance*; neither did shee euer heare of any capitall punishment (though neuer so deserued) vpon offenders, euen of such as had sought her own death, but it bred a kind of horror and sadnesse in her, whereby had not her Counsellers earnestly inculcated the necessitie of some exemplary iustice, many dangerous attempters had escaped due punishment; which mooued her to say, being once questioning with a great¹³ *Diuine in Oxford*, about books meetest for Princes to studie on, that *her reading of Seneca de Clementia*, had done her much good; but some would perfwade her it had done her State as much harne: howsoever I will shut vp this point with *S.¹⁴ Augustine*, (when he was intreated to mediate for a mitigation of some strait Lawes) if *Princes serue Christ in making Lawes for Christ, they doe what they ought, I will not gainsay them*; and your selfe graunt, that this course seemed in policie necessary for her, who was the daughter of King *Henry the VIII.* by *Anne Bulleine*, borne with the contempt of *Rome*, the disgrace of *Spaine*, and the preiudice of *Scotland*: and it is true indeede that it both seemed, and was a necessary course for her, not onely in policie, but in pietie, who was the daughter of him, who vpon iust reason vnhorred the *Pope* of his pretended authoritie, by her who was not onely a zealous professour, but a Patronesse of that trueth which wee professe: and for her birth with the contempt of *Rome*, and disgrace of *Spaine*, it seemed by her courtes shee was not vnwilling to haue it so interpreted: but for the preiudice of *Scotland*, shee was vpon all occasions (so farre as shee conceiued it stood with her safetie and honour) most willing to expresse the contrary: and surely by her liuing and dying in a single State

¹³ D.R. of C.C.C.¹⁴ Epist. 48.

State without marriage, she rather prepared a way to the furtherance of that Title, which wee now see to our great comfort, as she would also no doubt to hers. (*Si quis modo sensus in umbris*, if there were any feeling or knowledge in the dead of these temporall and transitory affaires) seeing it is fallen out to bee as true in that succession, as it is in its owne nature strange,

Mira cano, Sol occubuit, nox nulla sequuta est.

B. C.

33.

But now that your Maiestie is by the consent of all sides come to the Crowne, and your undoubted Title settled with long succession, the case is very much altered: for your Maiestie hath no need of dispensations, nor will to pull downe Churches, nor no dependance at all on Henry the VIII: and if this Schisme could haue prevented your Title with the dinorce of one wife, and the marrying of five more, neither your mother, nor your selfe should euer haue made Queene Elizabeth afraid with your Right to the Crowne of England; and therefore though it were necessary, in reason of State, to continue the doctrine of diuision, as long as the fruit of that doctrine did continue, yet now the fruit of Schisme is all spent, and that Parenthesis of State is at an end, there is no reason but that the old sentence may returne againe, and bee continued in that sense, as if the Parenthesis had been cleane left out, and that God had of purpose crossed the fleshly pretence of Schisme, and raised your Maiestie to restore it as your most wise and Catholike progenitor King Henric the V H. did leaue it.

That which you call the doctrine of diuision was taught long before the diuision you speake of, was made, as hath bene already shewed, and his Maiestie in regard of his father and grandfather, may as well be called the fruit of Schisme as Queene Elizabeth

G. H.

33.

If his Maiestie, by the consent of all sides bee come to the Crowne, why did Clement the VIII. the yeere before his entrance,

trance, and that as his *Maieslie* witnesseth in the Conclusion of his *answere to Paulus Quintus his first Breue*, [contrary to his manifold vowes and protestations at the same time, and as it were with the same breath deliuered to diuers of his *Maiesties* Agents abroad] send to *Henry Garnet* Iesuite, their Arch-priest in *England*, two *Bulles* to the contrary, the one to the Clergie, and the other to the Laitie. The Title of the former was, [*Dilectis filiis, Archipresbytero, & reliquo Clero Anglicano*, and the other, *Dilectis filiis, principibus, & nobilibus Catholicis Anglicanis, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem*: The summe of both thus: To our Beloued sonnes the Archpriest, and the Clergie, the Peeres and nobles, Catholikes of *England*, greeting and Apostolicall benediction.] The tenor was, [That after the death of her *Maieslie* then liuing, whether by course of nature or otherwise, whosoever should lay ¹ Claime or Title to the Crowne of *England*, though neuer so directly and neerely interested by descent, should not be admitted to the throne, vnlesse hee would first tolerate the *Romish religion*, and by all his best endeouours promote the *Catholike cause*, vnto which by a solemne and sacred Oath, hee should religiously subscribe after the death of that *miserable woman* (for so it pleased his *Holinesse* to terme *Elizabeth*, that most great and happie Queene;) By vertue of which *Bulles*, (if vertue may be in any such vicious libels) the Iesuites dissuaded the *Romish* minded Subiects, from yeelding in any wise obedience vnto our most gracious Soueraigne now being. But this not working to their wished effect, and hee now solemnelly proclaimed with an vniuersall applause, loue, and peace, their hopes beganne to wither and growe colde; and no succours from *Spain* being now to bee expected, *Garnet the Superiour* for the auoyding farther dangers, sacrificed these starued *Buls* to the God of fire. Moreouer, in the yeere 1588. when his *Holinesse* blessed that inuincible *Spanish* Nauie, was it to settle the Crowne vpon his *Maieslie* after Queene *Elizabeth* should be deposed? Surely his *Maieslie* both rightly conceiued, and freely expressed the contrary to Sir *Robert Sidney*, at that time sent into *Scotland* from Queene *Elizabeth*, affirming that hee

¹ See the Relation of the whole proceedings against the traitours *Garnet* and his confederates.

² Who was here in touched so neere as his *Maieslie*.

expected none other good turne at the Spaniards hands, but that which Polyphemus promised to Vllisse, that others being first deuoured himselfe should haue the fauour to bee swallowed last: And did not the greatest part of Pius his Bull, aiming principally at her, through her sides alio strike his *Maiestie*? And did not one Robert Parsons who sate at the helme in Rome, write a certaine Booke of *Tirles*, intituled *Doleman*, wherein he excludes his *Maiestie*, and prefers the *Infanta* of Spaines right before all other pretenders to the Crowne? but when hee once saw his *Maiestie* settled beyond all hope and expectation, he made as you doe, and the rest at that time did, a vertue of necessitie, acknowledging his vndoubted and lawfull Claime, in his Preface to his *Triple conversion*, whereof for mine owne part I can giue none other reason then that which you adde to another purpose, *the case is altered*: Whiles his *Maiestie* was onely in hope you shewed your selues in your owne colours: being now quiet in possession, you plucke in your homes, yeelde to the times, and are content to bee carried with the streame.

And though the personall case bee altered in regard of his *Maiestie*, and Henry the VIII. yet if his *Maiesty* either needed the like dispensations, or had the like will to pull down Churches, I make no question but his *Holinesse* would without any great difficulty giue way to both, conditionally that his pretended, but vsurped authority might be restored: But as he is a publike person, and represents the body of the Stare, the case is no way different, which is the freeing of it from foraine and vniust vsurpation: And for Queene Elizabeth I will be bold to say it, that at her comming to the Crowne, she was not so farre ingaged for the defence of that religion, which she constantly maintained to her dying day, as his *Maiesty* hath by manifold obligations bound himselfe to the maintenance and continuance of that which she at her death left; and hee at his entrance found established amongst vs. For testimonies wee neede goe no farther then his frequent and solemne protestations, as well by his penne, as by word of mouth, and that not onely before, but since his comming to the Crowne; to which if we adde the carefull education of his Sonne, the most noble
and

and hopefull Prince, euen in that reſpect, the beſtowing of his onely daughter that moſt ſweet and vertuous Lady vpon the Prince Palatine, not onely a Proteſtant, but as you termethem, a *Caluiniſt*, the honourable entertainement of *Iſaac Caſaubon*, and *Peter Moulin*, the liberty giuen to the *French & Dutch*, for the free and publike exerciſe of their religion in diuers parts of his Maieſties Dominions; and laſtly his conſtant reſuſall of ſo much as the *Toleration* of any other religion, notwithstanding the importunitie of ſuits and ſupplications for it; the matter as I ſuppoſe will be cleane out of doubt. And as *Queene Elizabeth* was prouoked by *Pius V.* ſo was his Maieſty by *Paulus V.* in a degree very little different; the one abſoluing her ſubiects from their oath of Allegiance, and the other forbidding his to take ſuch an oath: So that though the *Parentheſis* in regard of perſonall ſucceſſion bee ended, yet in reſpect of profeſſion (which of the two is the more to bee regarded) the ſentence as yet runnes on, and as we hope will haue no period, but with the worlds end. But the more to exaſperate his Maieſty againſt King *Henry the VIII.* and his daughter *Queene Elizabeth*, you tell him that if the *Schiſme* could haue prevented his title, neither his Mother, nor himſelfe ſhould euer haue made *Queene Elizabeth* afraid with their right to the *Crowne of England*. For the iuſtneſſe of the diuorce I haue already deliuered mine opinion at large; and yet if any deſire farther ſatiſfaction, let him reade the firſt dialogue of *Antiſanderus*, who both ſtrongly main- taines the equity of the Kings proceedings in that buſineſſe, and clearly confutes the ſlanders of that baſe fugitive; and for his wines, had the way bene fairely made vnto them, no iuſt exception could be taken to the number. *Philip the II. of Spaine*, beſides his Miſtreſſes, had ſucceſſiuely ³ foure wines, whereof the firſt was his fathers *Couſin germaine*, and the laſt his owne: For the compaſſing of which, what ſtrange courſes he tooke, I liſt not to relate, but referre the reader to the Prince of *Aurange* his Apologie; yet none that I know hath taxed him for his multitude of wines, in as much as he liued and died a *Romane Catholike*. Did not *Henry the laſt of France* diuorce his firſt wife, after they had bene almoſt as long married, and

³ From England.
From Portugale.
From France,
From Auſtria.

vponlesse shew of iust reason, then *Henry* the VIII. but the one made semblance at last of subiecting himselfe to the See Apostolike, which the other by no meanes could bee brought vnto, as he did at first, this alone beeing it that varied the case, and that which he did herein, may well be interpreted to haue sprong from a desire of setting the Crowne in his owne posterity, rather then of preiudicing the title of *Scotland*; For though during his reigne, some discontentments there were between the two nations, yet not long before his death hee concluded a match betwixt his sonne *Prince Edward*, and *Queene Mary* of *Scotland*, that as his father had vnited the white and the redde *Roses* in the royall branches of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, so his sonne might vnite the *Lions passant and rampant*, in the armes of *England* and *Scotland*, but it so pleased God, that that match vpon occasion fell asunder, and that happy vnion was referued to our times.

*A Dominantibus
semper iniustus
quisquis proximum
designatur.*

Now for *Queene Elizabeths* feare, those of her Sexe indeed by their nature are *fearfull*, and great Princes by reason of the place they stand in, are^t iealous, specially of the heire apparent, if hee be potent, if neere at hand, if remote in blood, if in Religion different: yet all the feare she conceaued from *his Majesties Mother* arose partly from the practises of the *French*, with whose King she matched, and partly of the Seminarie *Priests* and *Iesuites*, and pretended *Catholikes*, euer making her the highest marke and pitch of their ambition, till they had brought her to the lowest ebbe of her misfortune; which was also hastned through her Subiects feare, rather then their own, as appears by her seuerall answeres, and replies to the demands of the Parliament, and propositions of her counsel touching that point: as also in that, as soone as the newes of it was brought to her, not thinking on any such matter, she receiued it with indignation, her countenance & her speech shewed it, with excessiue grieffe; for a while she stood as it were astonished, and afterwards betook her selfe in priuate to mourning and weeping, shee sharply entertained her counsellors, remooued them from her presence, and commanded *Dauison* her Secretarie, whom shee accused of being more forward
and

and officious in that buſineſſe, then ſhe either deſired, or expected to be brought to his triall in the *Starre Chamber*, where he was deeply cenſured in a mulct of ten thouſand pound, and imprifonment at the *Queenes* pleaſure; but her diſpleaſure was ſo heavy againſt him, that hee continued there long, and aſſoone as the exceſſe of her griefe gaue her leaue, ſhe thus briefly wrote with her owne hande to the King of Scotland, now our gracious *Soveraigne*.

Moſt deare Brother,

I Wiſh you vnderſtood, but felt not with what
I vnmatchable griefe my minde is perplexed,

This Letter
was ſent by Sr.
Robert Cary.

by reaſon of that wofull accident executed againſt my meaning, which my pen trembling to mention, you ſhall vnderſtand by this my couſin. I ſhall requeſt you that as God, and many others can teſtifie mine innocencie herein; ſo you would reſt aſſured, that had I commanded it, I would neuer haue denyed it. I am not of ſo baſe a minde, as either to feare to doe that which is iuſt, or to denie it being done. I am not ſo degenerate, or of a Spirit ſo ignoble: but as it is no Princely part to couer the inward intention of the minde with the outward ſpeech; ſo will I neuer diſſemble mine actions, but labour rather that they may appeare to the world in their proper colours. Be you therefore fully reſolved as the truth is, that had I

inten-

intended such a matter, I would neuer haue cast it vpon others; neither haue I reason to charge my selfe with that which I intended not: For other matters, this Bearer will impart them to you; and for my selfe beleue it, there is none liuing, that loues you better, and more intirely, or is more carefully prouident for you, and your good, and if any happen to suggest any thing to the contrary, perswade your selfe, that such thereby aime at their owne aduantage, rather then yours.

*God keepe you long and
long in safetie.*

Yet out of the blacke cloud of this sad accident, did the disposition of diuine providence, as some wise men haue obserued, most clearely shine, in as much as those things, which both *Q. Elizabeth* of England, & *Q. Mary* of Scotland chiefly desired, and shot at in all their consultations, were by this meanes effected: The latter (as at her death she witnessed) wished nothing more earnestly, then that the two diuided Realmes of England and Scotland might bee vniued in the person of her dearest sonne: The former, that true Religion, together with the safetie and securitie of the Kingdome might bee preserved entire; and that God was pleased to grant both their wishes, to our comfort, wee feele, and can not but most willingly acknowledge: And for his Maestie, he both signified to *Queene Elizabeth* by *Sir Francis Walsingham*, in the yeere 1581. (almost foure yeeres before his mothers death,) that he would most constantly maintaine the same Religion which was then publikely receiued, and againe, sent her the same message by *Sir Robert Sidney* about two yeeres after; So that shee

she needed not to feare his right in that regarde, and for his affection otherwise, hee both testified it before her death in the Preface to his *Basilicon Doron*, where he thus speakes, [*In England reignes a lawfull Queene, who hath so long, with so great wisdom and felicitie governed her kingdomes, as I must in true sinceritie confesse, that the like hath not beene read or heard of, either in our time, or since the dayes of the Roman Emperour Augustus.*] And since her death, hee hath yeelded the like testimonies of her, as well in his *Apologie*, as also in his *Premonition*, where he remembers, that being chosen to be his Godmother, shee sent into *Scotland* the Font wherein he was baptized: So that (if by outward actions and speeches, we may make coniecture of the inward thoughts and Passions of the minde) shee was so farre from fearing his Maiesties right to the Crowne, as she endeouored rather by all conuenient meanes to aduance it: neither doe I find it recorded by her friends, or objected by her enemies, that, during all her reigne vpon any occasion, shee euer conceiued a thought, or cast out a word toward the setting vp of any other Successour, or the preiudicing of his right; Nay in the yeere 1587. she sent the Lord *Hunsdon* gouernour of *Berwick* into *Scotland*, to giue him notice that the *Iesuiticall* faction euen while his mother liued, proiected, how they both might be put by their right, and the *Spaniard* brought in: and withall was presented him an instrument, subscribed by the Iudges of *England*, assuring him that the sentence passed vpon his mother, could no way bee preiudiciall in law to the right of his title.

But it will be sayd shee discouered her feare in stopping any declaration of the heire apparent, specially being vrged thereunto by the three estates assembled in *Parliament*, in the yeere, 1566. whereas in trueth she in reading might haue obserued, that few or no Successors in collaterall line had beene declared, as *Lewis Duke of Orleans* was not declared heire to *Charles* the eight, yet succeded peaceably, that it hath often prooued dangerous to name a successour, not only to the possessours, but sometimes to the Successours themselues: as it

did to Roger Mortimer Earle of *March*, designed heire to the Crowne by *Richard the second*, his sonne *Edmund* being helde in prison, and there pining away vpon none other reason. The like befell *John de la Poole*, designed by *Richard the third* (after the death of his owne sonne) to bee his Successour, himselfe being alwayes euen in that respect suspected of *Henry the VII.* till at last he was slaine, and his brother vnder *Henry the VIII.* beheaded. These reasons might moue her Maiestie for the stopping of that declaration, *not the feare of his Maiesties right*, but the care of preferuing it, being sufficiently proclaimed in his blood and discent. Whatsoever it were, since his Maiestie who had the neere interest in that errand, hath bene content thus graciously to passe it ouer, it cannot but argue want both of wildome and charitie in Mr. Doctor, thus vnseasonably, and maliciously to reuiue it.

Lastly, God of purpose no doubt raised vp his Maiestie, to crosse the worldly and diuelish pretence of *Rome*, and to perpetuate the life of that Religion which you call *Schisme*, and I make no doubt but if King *Henry the VII.* had found it left by his predecessor in the state, that his Maiestie did, hee would in his wisdom haue left it to his Successor, as hee is like to doe, and I am the rather induced to thinke so; because in the first yeere of his raigne, the Pope hauing excommunicated all such persons as had bought allome of the *Florentines*, by his permission, if not command, it was resolved by all the Iudges of *England*, that the Popes Excommunication ought not to be obeyed, or to bee put in Execution within the Realme of *England*: and in the same yeere hee suffered sharpe lawes to be made by the *Parliament*, to which himselfe gaue, being by his Royall assent for the reformation of his Clergie, then growen very dissolute: and in the eleuenth yere of his raigne, a Statute was enacted, that [though by the Ecclesiasticall Lawes allowed within this Realme, a Priest cannot haue two Benefices, nor a bastard be a Priest, yet it should be lawfull for the King to dispence with both of these, as being *mala prohibita*, but not *malaper se*,] all which argues that they then held the King to bee
perso-

personam mixtam, as it was declared in the tenth yeere of his reigne, that is a *person mixt*, because hee hath both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall iurisdiction vnited in his person.

B. C.

34.

But perhaps the Schisme, though it serue you to none other use at all for your title, yet it doth much increase your authority and your wealth, and therefore it cannot stand with your honour to further the ² vnyty of the Church of Christ. Truly those your most famous and renowned ancestors, that did part with their authority and their wealth, to bestow them upon the Church of CHRIST, and did curse and execrate those that should diminish and take them away againe, did not thinke so, nor finde it so: And I would to God your Maiesty were so powerfull and so rich, as some of those kings were that were most bountifull that way. You are our ³ Soueraigne Lord: All our bodies, and our goods are at your command; but our soules as they belong not to your charge, but as by way of protection in Catholike religion; so they cannot increase your honour and authority, but in a due subordination vnto Christ, and to ⁴ those that supply his place ⁵ in iis quæ sunt iuris diuini. It was essentiall to Heathen Emperours to bee Pontifices as well as Reges, because they were themselves authors of their owne religion: But among Christians, where Religion comes from CHRIST, who was no worldly Emperour, (though aboue them all) the spirituall and temporall authority haue two beginnings, and therefore two Supremes, who if they bee subordinate, doe uphold and increase one another, but if the temporall authority oppose the spirituall, it destroyeth it selfe, and dishonoureth him from whom the spirituall authority is deriued. Heresie doth naturally ⁶ spread it selfe like a canker, and needes little helpe to put it forward: So that it is an easie matter for a meane Prince to be a ⁷ great man amongst heretikes, but it is an hard matter for a great king to ⁸ gouerne them. When I haue sometimes obserued how hardly your Maiesty could effect your most

in my reading of the Chronicles, of our own land or forraigne histories, Princes had more adoe in gouerning their subiects before the reformation then since, I meane those Princes who haue embraced that religion.

¹ Mine answer touching wealth I leaue to the next Section which is the proper place for it.

² That which you cal the vnyty of the Church, is indeede the building of the kingdome of Antichrist.

³ How is he a Soueraigne, if hee haue aboue him an higher power to command him?

⁴ That is his Holines of Rome.

⁵ Indirecte too (at least) and in ordine ad spiritua-
lia, they supply his place in iis quæ sunt iuris diuini.

⁶ We find that verified in the spreading of the Romish religion.

⁷ What makes a great man but great power in commanding, & if a great king cannot gouerne them, how shall a meane prince be able to command them.

⁸ For any thing I can finde

9 You might rather haue bene angry with them who standing least vpon his *Maiesties* Supremacie, nor onely endeuor to crosse his desires, but to indanger his person, and to cut off himselfe and his posterity.

reasonable desires amongst those that stand most vpon your Supremacy, I haue bene bold to bee angry, but durst say nothing; onely I did with my selfe resolute for certaine, that the keyes were wont to doe the 10 Crowne more seruice, when they were in the armes of the miser, then they can doe now they are tyed together with the 11 Scepter, and that your title in spirituall affaires doth but serue 12 other mens turnes, and not your owne.

10 By the keyes doing the Crowne seruice, belike you meane the triple Crowne. 11 That the Keyes are tyed to the Scepter is false, his *Maiesty* neither hauing, nor challenging the right of binding and loosing, but true that by the *Pope* both Scepter and sword too, are tyed to the Keyes. 12 If his *Maiesty* title rather serue others then himselfe, we are sure his *Holynes* title rather serues himselfe then others.

G. H.

34.

Hauing passed your supposed remoouall of all opposition both in doctrine and State, thereby to make a readier way to your imaginary reconciliation, you now come to an endeuour of clearing such obiections, as you conceiued would offer themselues; whereof the first is, that *the religion established*, (which you call *schisme*) *serues to increase his Maiesties authority and wealth, and therefore it cannot stand with his honour to further the vniity of the Church of CHRIST*: Indeed it must be confessed, and cannot be denied, that the religion established, yeelds his *Maiestie* the authority due vnto him, which is more then the *Romish* yeelds to the Soueraigne Princes of her profession, and yet no more then CHRIST and his Apostles in practise yeelded, and in precept command: And yet withall it cannot be denied, but some of his *Maiesties* ancestours, partly through the insensible incroachment of some ambitious *Popes*, and partly through the neglect of some weake kings, did part indeed with some of their authority, to bestow it vpon that Church, to which you intitle Christ: yet that they reserued to themselues a power euen in Ecclesiasticall causes, I haue already made sufficiently to appeare in mine answer to the 16: section of the first chapter, and in diuers other places; to which I wil presume to adde that, which his *Maiesty* hath published to the world touching this very point in his *Premunition to all Christian Princes and States*,

My

[My Predecessors (ye see) of this kingdome, euen when the Popes triumphed in their greatnesse, spared not to punish any of their Subiects that would preferre the Popes obedience to theirs, euen in Church matters, so farre were they then from acknowledging the Pope their temporall Superior, or yes from doubting that their owne Church men were not their Subiects. And now I will close up all these examples with an Acte of Parliament in King Richard the II. his time, whereby it was prohibited that none should procure a benefice from Rome, vnder paine to be put out of the kings protection. And thus may ye see that what those kings successively one to another by foure generations haue acted in priuate, the same was also maintained by a publike law. By these few examples now I hope I haue sufficiently cleared my selfe from the imputation, that any ambition or desire of nouelty in me should haue stirred mee, either to robbe the Pope of any thing due vnto him, or to assume vnto my selfe any farther authority, then that which other Christian Emperours and kings through the world, and my owne Predecessours of England in especiall haue long agoe maintained. Neither is it enough to say as Parsons doth in his answer to the Lord Cooke: that farre more kings of this Countrey haue giuen many more examples of acknowledging, or not resisting the Popes vsurped authority; some perchance lacking the occasion, and some the ability of resisting them: for euen by the ciuill Law in the case of a violent intrusion, and long wrongfull possession against me, it is enough if I proue that I haue made lawfull interruption vpon conuenient occasions.] Hitherto his Maiesty. And I cannot but wonder what Mr. Doctour meant, (if he had read it,) not to take any notice of it, or if he read it not, how he durst presume thus to write to his Maiesty, without so much as the reading of his writings: From whence we may gather, that what Henry the VIII. acted

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30. 31. 32.

in that regard, was but a manifestation of the intents and desires of his predecessors, which they durst not fully expresse, and what they enacted, a preparatiue to the roundnesse of his proceedings.

Besides I see not, but if his *Maiesties* predecessors granted that to his *Holinesse*, which was indiuidually annexed to the Crowne, as being a speciall branch of their prerogatiue Royall, his *Maiestie* stands none otherwise bound to maintaine that graunt, then they held themselues obliged to make that good, which King *Iohn* had yeelded vnto him, and if they did part with *their* authoritie (as your selfe speake) then was it their owne before they parted with it, and not the Bishops of *Rome*, (as your *Romane* Catholikes would haue it) by *Diuine right*: and consequently beeing their owne, as they vpon occasion best knowen to themselues, conferred it: so vpon a contrary occasion (I see no reason, but) either themselues or their successours might as lawfully resume it: But the truth is, that it was not giuen by them, but stollen by the Bishop of *Rome*, and by him held vnder colour of prescription, yet your selfe by discourse of reason, and force of truth are driuen to confesse, that *our bodies and goods are at his Maiesties command*, either forgetting ^{from} whom you wrote, or not remembring, or it may bee so much as knowing what the Church of *Rome* (whose defence you vndertake) defends touching the exemption, as well of the bodies, as the goods of Churchmen from the iurisdiction of the secular, though Supreme power: and how his *Maiestie* in diuers parts of his writings, hath most sufficiently prooued the nouelty of this doctrine: so that what you write herein can bee imputed to none other but to grosse flattery, or palpable ignorance: flattery of his *Maiestie*, in that which he truly holds, or ignorance of that which is falsely held by the Church of *Rome*; but like a shrewd Cow that hath yeelded a good meale of milke, and then ouerthrowes it with a spurne of her foote; so hauing subiected *our bodies and goods* to his *Maiesties command*, you exempt our soules from his charge, but by way of protection in *Catholike Religion*, as if you meant purposely to crosse that of the
Apostle,

1 Exemptio Clericorum in rebus politicis, tum quoad personas, tum quoad bona, introducta est iure humano pariter & diuino, Beld. de cle. cap. 28.

Apostle, [*Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers :*] But I would taine demaund if his Maiestie should not protect vs in that Religion which you call *Catholike*, whether *our bodies and goods shall then bee at his commaund*? Surely if his Holinesse (whom you cannot but vnderstand by *those that supplie Christs place, in ijs qua sunt iuris diuini*, and to whom you would haue vs subordinate,) haue the command of our soules, and his Maiestie onely of our bodies, the later may command what hee list: but men will execute his commands no farther then the former will be pleased to giue leaue, whereof we haue had often and fresh experience, as wel in the *Bulls of Pius Quintus*, and in the *Breues of Paulus Quintus*: and in trueth I cannot but commend his wit, though not his honestie, that hee intitlesh himselfe vnto, and interesteth himselfe in the more actiue and noble part, *the bodie* without the *soule* being as the shales without the kernell, or the scabberd without the sword.

Those Kings that out of their Regall authoritie purged the Church of corruptions, and reformed the abuses thereof, brought the Arke to her resting place, dedicated the Temple, and consecrated it with prayers, proclaimed fastes, caused the booke of the Lawe new found to bee read to the people, renewed the Couenant betweene God and his people, bruised the brasen Serpent in pieces, which was set vp by the expresse commandement of God, and was a figure of Christ, destroyed all Idols and false Gods, make a publique reformation by a Commission of Secular men and Priests mixed for that purpose, deposed the high Priest, and set vp another in his place, they that lawfully called Generall Councils, for the suppressing of heresies, as ² *Constantine* did the *Nicene*, ³ *Theodosius* the elder, the first at *Constantinople*, ⁴ *Theodosius* the yonger, the *Ephesin*, ⁵ *Valentinian* & *Martian* the *Chalcedonian*; they that made Lawes for the ordering of Church-men and Church-matters, as ⁶ *Iustinian* and *Charlemaine*, cannot in the iudgement of any indifferent man be said, to haue no charge of the soules of such as are committed to their charge, but onely by way of protection.

Neither

² 2. Sam. 17.6
¹ Chron. 23.13.
³ Chron. 6.

² King. 23.2.
² Chre. 20.3.
² Nehem. 9.38.

² King. 18.4.

¹ Chron. 17.8.

¹ King. 3.27.

² Secr. 1.9.
³ Theod. 1.9.

⁴ Theodoritus. l. 5.
 cap. 9.
⁵ Eusebius. lib. 1.
 cap. 2.
⁶ Lea Epist. 43.

Neither doeth it follow that his *Majestie* in taking the charge of *soules* vpon him, according to the qualitie of his office, and Gods appointment, whose officer hee is, should therefore be himself a *Priest*, or be the *author of his owne Religion*, as you would maliciously inferre, from the custome of the heathen Emperors, no more then the Kings of *Israel*, or the Emperors of the Christian Primitiue Church were *Priests*, or *authors of that religion*, which by diuine ordinance they tooke care of, aswell in the Priest, as in the people, aswell in confirming and countenancing what was in order, as in censuring and restoring what was amisse: neither was it in the time of the law of nature held vnlawfull, that both the Regall and the Ecclesiasticall, the princely and the priestly power should reside together in one person, during which Law wee haue not many examples of Kings that gouerned a people, where the Church of God was planted: there is onely mention to my remembrance of *Melchisedecke King of Salem*, and of him it is sayd withall, that hee was a Priest of the most High God; so that in his person these two offices, the principallitie and the Priesthood, were ioyned; both which followed the prerogative of the birth-right: and to this double dignity was answerable a double portion: the like do we reade of *Anias*, that he was *Rex idem hominū, Pæbig, Sacerdos*; and it was the speech of *Diogenes the Pythagorean*, that [to make a compleat King, hee had need bee a Captaine, a ludge, and a Priest,] of which two of these were ioyned in *Ely* and *Samuel*, and the other two in *Moses*. The name of *Presbyter Iohn* seemes to import that they haue beene, or should bee *Priests*, and at this day the Kings of *Malabar* in the *East Indies* are all of them *Bramenes*, that is, *Priests*: whereby it appeares that the Office of a King, and a Priest are not incompatible in the same person: but as they are not incompatible; so neither among the *Heathen* was the Priest-hood essentially annexed to the Regall power (as M. Doctor affirmeth)⁸ *Romulus* indeed ioyned them, but *Numa* disioyned them, and *Augustus* againe reioyned them, aswell for the safetie, as the honour of the Emperour; yet not so, but that they might, and afterwards did fall asunder. Indee the Bishop

Gen. 14. 19.

7 Apud Stob. de regno.

See to this purpose, Aristot. pol. lib. 3. cap. 11.

8 Ferdin. Lopez, lib. 1. Hist. Ind. Cap. 14.

9 Quia in Civitate bellicosa, plures Romani quam Numma similes reges putabat fore, uti vobisque ipsos ad bellica sacra deferrentur, flaminibus autem affiduum Sacerdotum creantur Lin. lib. 1.

shop of Rome, now as he succedes those Emperours in place; so doth he in that chalenge, assuming to himselfe, (but in another sense then hee spake it, whose Successour hee pretends himselfe) *Regale Sacerdotium*, a royall Priest-hood. And being * *Christs Vicar*, he cannot for shame take to himselfe the title of * *Emperour or King*, but a power *aboue them all*, as you truly tell vs *CHRIST* had: but to none other purpose (as I conceaue) but from him, to deriue it to his Vicar, he being not only * *that Spirituall man*, who iudgeth all things, himselfe being iudged of none, (by which hee is inabled to depose ¹⁰ Princes) but a Spirituall Prince himselfe, which is the most fauourable construction that possibly can be giuen of those words, ¹¹ *Hanc unum super omnes Gentes, & omnia regna, principem constituit*, where *Christ*, (vnto whom all power was giuen both in heauen and earth,) is made to make the Bishop of Rome, his Vicar, the Soueraigne Lord, and ground Commander of all the Nations and Kingdomes in the world, applying that, as properly meant of himselfe, which was figuratiuely spoken to the Prophet, [* *I haue this day set thee ouer the nations, and ouer the Kingdomes, to roote out, to pull downe, to destroy, to overthrow, to build, and to plant*] but in that hee makes himselfe a Prince, he goes beyond euen the literall Commission of the Prophet.

The vse hath bene that the Christian Emperours at their Coronation, ¹² should administer to the Pope in place of Sub-deacon, should put on a Surplis, & be admitted as Canonicks, not onely of *S. Peters Church in Rome*, but of *S. Iohn Laterane*, which argues their acknowledgement of some Ecclesiasticall power, to haue bene in them: Nay *Maximilian* the first, a Catholike Emperour, went so farre as to attempt the ¹³ vnting of the Papacie to the Empire: The Pope neuer yet attempted so much in open shew, and plaine termes; but hath effected no lesse, nay more, indeede, and in trueth, in making the Papacie the Substantiue, and the Empire the Adiectiue: But among Christians, (saith our D^r.) the Spirituall and Temporall authoritie haue two beginnings, as if hee who gaue his Apostles Commission to preach the Gospel, did not also proclaime in the eight of the *Proverbes* [* *By me Kings reigne*] it is

* *Ps. 1. 9.** *1. Cor. 2. 15.*¹⁰ *Maynard, de primi. Ecc. art. 9.*¹¹ *Bulla Pij Quin.** *Is. 1. 10.*¹² See their book of Sacred Ceremonies.¹³ *Monit. Poli.** *Matth. 28. 18.*

there deliuered in the person of wisdom, by which no doubt is to be understood the second person in Trinitie, *the wisdom of the Father*. It may be his meaning is, that the *Spiritual* authority is from the good God, and the *Temporall* from the euill god, distinguishing as the *Manicheans* did: Or that the *Spiritual* is from God, and the *Temporall* from the people; or the *Spiritual* from *Christ*, and the *Temporall* from *Antichrist*: Howsoeuer from a double beginning he inferres a double *Supremacie*, whereas to speake properly; that is onely *Supreme* which giues beginning, and not that which receiues, howbeit in themselves (since the institution of the *Leuiticall Law*) wee must confesse them distinct and independant, the *Priest* depending on the *Prince*, in regard of externall coactiue iurisdiction, but not of inward vocation, or outward ordination: Power of the keyes, of administering the Sacraments, of preaching the Word, in himselfe hee hath not, and consequently cannot confer it vpon others, and therefore was *Saul* reproued by *Samuel* for sacrificing a burnt offering, and *Vzziah* plagued with leprosie for burning incense in the Temple: Yet by special dispensation, *Moses* the Supreme ciuil *Magistrate* consecrated *Aaron* the high Priest, and is in regarde of preheminance termed *his god*, and *Iehosaphat* King of *Iudah* by his ordinary power gaue instructions, aswel to the *Priests* as to the *Iudges*, how to administer their seuerall charges, himselfe being as it were the head, and these two as his two eyes or armes. Indeed before the Kingdome was erected, I take the high *Priest*, and the chiefe *Iudge* among the *Israelites*, to haue bene as two heads, without any appeale either from each to other, or to any Superior: But when once they had a King, appeales lay to him from both. Thus did Saint *Paul* appeale from the high Priest of his owne Nation to *Cesar* though an Heathen Emperour, and from him was there no appeale at all: So that the *Spiritual* authoritie was then subordinate to the *Temporall*: but when once it began to interpose it selfe in *Temporall* affaires, and within a while after to oppose it selfe against the *Temporall* power, it made a ready way to the destruction of both.

B. C.

* 1. Sam. 13. 13.

* 2. Cro. 26. 19.

* Exod. 28.

14 Without all contradiction the lesse is blessed of the greater, Heb. 7. 7.

* Exod. 4. 16.

* 2. Chron. 19.

* Deut. 17. 12.

* Act. 25. 11.

B. C.

35.

As for your wealth, it is true that the Crowne hath more pence payed vnto it now, then in the Catholike times it had: but it hath neuer the more wealth. It is but the gaine of the tellers to haue more money. True wealth is ~~to be rich~~ ^{to be rich} hee is the richest Prince that hath meanes to maintaine the greatest armie, and to doe most magnificent workes both in warre and in peace: wherein the facts of your Catholike ancestors doe appeare vpon good Record: your Maiesties are but yet hoped for, and if euer you haue the helpe of Catholike Religion to assist you, I hope you shall excell them all; otherwise I assure my selfe, the ¹ Schisme will doe what it can to make you poore, and then complaine that you are not rich. It was indeed one of the maine pretences in the statutes of Henry the VIII. that the Schisme might enrich the King, and maintaine his warres; but God did not ² blesse it: for notwithstanding all the Church lands, and goods, and tithes, and fruits, and prebendaries: King Henry the VIII. was faine to abase his coyne more then once, and yet he died not so rich as his Catholike father left him. And since his time what is become of the ³ Court of Augmentation? what benefit doe you receiue of all the Church lands, more then your Progenitors did when they were in the ⁴ hands of the Clergie? what ease haue your Subiects of Subsidies thereby? or in briebe, how much your ⁵ Coffers are enriched, you may be pleased to be informed, by those that haue to doe in those offices; and can readily giue you an account; for mine owne part, I haue diligently read ouer the ⁶ Statutes made by Henry the VIII. and doe finde that the euents are so cleane contrary to the Prefaces, and pretences of them, as if God, of purpose would laugh them to scorne.

it seemes you are more skilfull in them then in the Statutes whereof David speaks, *I will delight my selfe in thy Statutes* Psal. 119. 16.

¹ It is more to be feared that Rome will doe what she can to make him poore: but neuer complaine that he is not rich.

² The reason why God did not blesse it, I haue giuen in mine answer.

³ The Court of augmentation is annexed to the Exchequer, and yeelds yearly to his Maiestie as much as euer, as I thinke.

⁴ As they were then in the hands of the Clergie, they yeelded nothing but at their pleasure.

⁵ You obiekt to his Maiestie his empty Coffers, but labour to make them more emptie by subiecting him to Rome.

⁶ How diligently you haue perused the Statutes, I haue made it appeare in mine answer to the later part of your first chapter, and yet

I will delight my selfe in

G. H.

35.

If the Crowne haue more Pence paid in now then in former times, it must needs follow, that were it not by default of officers

the meanes might bee greater to doe great workes both in peace and in warre; & whereas you vpbraide his *Maiestie*, that *his are but yet hoped for*, hee hath had other occasions (as the world well knoweth) of expence, then his ancestors had, and those occasions that they had, hee hath not, whether in building at home, or in warring abroad: theirs it may be were more conspicuous, but his more necessary; and yet I doubt not but vpon iust occasion his *Maiestie* would bee able to maintaine as great and as powerfull an armie as any of his predecessors, to the terror of *Rome* and the *Romanists*, who are so farre from complaining of his *Maiesties* wants, as they would rather triumph most in this, that hee were not rich. *Gretser*, (in your account, I am sure a good Catholike) complains not, but scoffes at his *Maiesties* neede of money, in his answer to *Monsieur Plessis* his Epistle Dedicatory to his *Maiesty*, prefixed to his *Mysteriū iniquitatis*; in which his *Maiestie* being encouraged by that noble Lord, to lay by his Pen, and take his sword in hand, though it were to the passing of the *Alps*, and the sacking of *Rome*, *Gretser* in his replie makes it the burden of his song in diuers periods, *Sed deest pecunia*. But the *onely sure way* (you say) for his *Maiestie* to enrich himselfe, is, to turne *Romane Catholike*; as if it were not fresh in memorie what infinite masses of treasure the pretence of that Religion carried out of the land, to the triple Crowne of *Rome*, and other forreiners, well neere as much as was brought to the Crowne of *England* it selfe; as appeares in *Bonniers* Preface to *Gardiners* oration of true obedience: In the reigne of King *Henry* the third, it amounted by iust computation, to the summe of 60000. markes, which amounts to an incredible masse at this day, and was more then the standing reuenues of the Crowne at that time, as the Author of the *British antiquities* reports it, out of *Matthew Paris*, in the life of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*: in which relation are also set downe the grieuances which the Bishops, the Abbots, the Barons, and the king himselfe exhibited in their feuerall Letters to his *Holineffe*, touching the grieuousnesse of his exactions, the effect whereof was as followeth.

1 That

- 1 That the *Pope* being not content with that aide which is called *Peter-pence*, hee made money here in *England*, by a thousand cunning sleights and trickes, without the consent of the King, against the ancient Right and Liberties of the Kingdome, and against the Appeales put in by the Kings Ambassadors and Proctors in the Council of *Lions*.
- 2 That the Benefices and Prebendaries in *England*, were by him conferred vpon *Italians* and *Romanes*, not able to speake, or so much as to vnderstand our language, and that many times, one *Italian* succeeded another, as in lawfull inheritance: the Church-reuenues being by this meanes waisted and caried out of the kingdome, the word of God not preached, Ecclesiasticall dueties not obserued, hospitality, almes, and Diuine Seruice neglected, and lastly the walles and rooſe of Chancels and Parsonage houses suffered to drop downe, to the indangering of many soules, and the vtter desolation of the Church.
- 3 That of those Churches into which hee thrust not strangers, he exacted Pensions, against his owne promise by letter.

Dd 3

4. That

4 That the *natiue English* were vpon all occasions drawn by Citations to the Court of *Rome*, against the Customes and Common Law of the Kingdome, and against the *Popes* owne priuiledges, formerly granted.

To like purpose is that which I finde in a Manuscript of *Mr. Hales*, a man renowned in his time, as well for his learning as his honestie; his words are these, speaking of the cunning fetches of the Bishops of *Rome*, for the enriching of themselves and their Clergie, to the impouerishing of the King and the State.

First (saith hee) they exempted the Clergy, as well the Secular as the regular, from the authoritie of the Kings of *England*, whereby they neither would obey the Prince, but when and wherein it pleased them, nor albe it they had the greater part of the possessions and profits of the Realme, they would be contributory to the charges of the defence thereof, but when it listed them.

Secondly, they reserued to themselves the collations generally & specially of all Archbishopsricks, Bishopricks, Abbies, Priories, & all other dignities and benefices in *England*, which many times they gaue to aliants, that neuer dwelt in *England*, nor euer came into *England*. So the reuenues thereof were not spent

spent in the Realme, but caried out of the same, & when they gaue them to any of the Realme, they made them pay exceeding summes of money for Palls, Annats, Firft fruits, Tenth, and such like, whereby the Realme from time to time was very much impouerished.

Thirdly, they vsed to dispence, not onely with their owne Lawes and Canons, but also many times with Gods word in matters of Matrimony, and otherwise, whereby they sucked no litle treasure out of the Realme.

Fourthly, in causes testamentary, in causes of Matrimony, and diuorces, right of tithes, oblations, and obventions, they had decreed that men might appeale from any Court within this Realme to the Court of Rome, whereby the people of this nation was very much troubled, by reason it was so farre distant from this Realme, and when they came thither, they could not in long time haue redresse, but with long delays were constrained to spend whatsoeuer they had.

Fifthly, with dispensations for eating flesh, and white meates, for pardons and redemption of

of soules out of Purgatory, for dispensations with vowes, and such like beggery, they scraped together infinite summes of money: and becaule no fish should escape for lacke of bait, they had their Dararies and Collectours continually gaping for the prey, resident here in *England*.

Lastly, the Clergie of this Realme being animated by the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and such as had Spirituall Iurisdiction within this Realme, not onely vnreasonably troubled, and vexed the people of this realme in their Courts, but also exceedingly pilled, polled and robbed them vnder colour of Fees and duties. The Parsons and Vicars were not content with the moderate Mortuaries and Corse-presents, but also daily increased the same, and would haue what it pleased them, without any consideration of the misery and pouerty of the widow and children liuing, yea, and many times where the dead had but a bare vse, and no property in the goods and chattels, they were found in his possession, and in many places they would neither baptize nor marry, nor bury, but they

they would haue some extraordinary reward, & the common sort of Priests would not depart with any their Masses or praiers, vnlesse they were sure to haue money.

Of these and the like most vn sufferable vexations, *Iohn of Salisbury* in his 6. booke, and 24. chapter *De vitijs Curialium*, complains. *Polidor Virgil* himselfe an *Italian*, in his 8th. booke and second chapter *De inuentoribus rerum*, is not sparing in the relation of them: and the booke aboue mentioned, intituled *Antiquitates Britannica* is so full of them, as it seemes to haue bene written to none other purpose: which notwithstanding I finde not gainesaid by any Romanist. And can wee expect then that his Maiesty by the helpe of *Romish Catholike Religion*, should euer bee enriched? Surely in reason, that which is the meanes of impouerishing his Realme, and his subiects, can not be a meanes of enriching him: [In the want of people (saith * *Solomon*, he might as well haue sayd in the peoples want) is the destruction of the Prince,] For as the multitude of people is the kings honour; so the wealth of the people is the kings riches, and the welfare of the people the kings safety. * *Prov.* 14. 28.

But saith Mr. Doctour, one of the inaine pretences of *Henry the VIII.* was, to enrich himselfe in the spoile of the Church, which notwithstanding in euent proved to be contrary, to which I reply with the Poet,

—*Careat successibus opto*

Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.

Actions are not so much to be measured by their issues and euents, as by the causes from which they spring, and the ends to which they are directed.* When the people exceeded too much in offering gifts toward the worke of the Sanctuary, by the discretion of *Moses* they were restrained, and a proclamation made throughout the Campe they should bring no more: Why should it not be as lawfull for *Henry the VIII.* to restore it backe againe to the owners, if too much were giuen, as for *Moses* to retrain them for giuing: hee tooke it out of

their hands who vpon al occasions at the *Popes* command were ready to vse it as a weapon against himselfe, and in defence of their holy Father, and conferrd it vpon those who therewith were to serue both himselfe and the State in peace at home, and in wars abroad. As the Church prayes for the ciuill state; so is it to shield the Church: and better it were the Church should quit a part of her maintenance, then that the whole should lie obnoxious to the sacrilegious hands of forreine vsurpation: If in performance hereof, that which should haue bene ordained to publike, or sacred, was by some ill disposed persons, or the king himselfe, turned to priuate and prophane vses; or if that which inseparably belongs to the maintenance of Ecclesiasticall persons, were put into the possession of those who serued not at the altar, this manner of proceeding might so staine and vitiate the whole action, as it might carry a secret curse with it vpon the authours and actours of it, No doubt but a good cause, and in it selfe most iust both may bee and oft is marred in the handling: and being handled neuer so well, yet in the issue it may miscarry, Gods iudgements being alwayes in themselves most iust, but many times their causes hidden from vs. I vndertake not the defence of *Henry*, or any other Prince or person in robbing the Church, but to his vnfortunate euents, we may oppose the happy successe of Queene *Elizabeth* his daughter, and successour both in gouernment and in opposition to the Church of *Rome*: She maintained long and chargeable wars, in diuers kingdomes abroad, against *Balak* and *Balaam*, *Gog* and *Magog*, to the infinite expense of her treasure, and yet at her death she left more in her coffers then her *Romish* Catholike sister, and immediate predecessour, notwithstanding her peace abroad, her mariage with the Lord of the *Indies*, and her readmittance (though with much adoe) of the *Popes* authority.

Lastly for full satisfaction in this point, Mr. Doctor hauing so good intelligence of his *Maiesties* disposition, and being so inwardly acquainted with his secrets, as he makes himselfe, could not well be ignorant that his *Maiesty* is so farre from enriching, or hoping to enrich himselfe in the spoile of the Church, vnder

der colour of religion, that to his immortal fame ſince his coming to the Crowne, he hath bound his owne hands and his poſterity from alienating the reuenues conſecrated to the Churches uſe: ſo that your inuectiue in this place is malicious againſt King Henry, if in no other regard, yet becauſe it is impertinent in regard of his Maieſty, who hath no Monasteries to pull downe, nor (as your ſelfe before confeſſe) will to pull downe Churches: but though he haue no will to pull downe Churches, but rather to ſet them vp, it followes not, but that he ſhould be willing to ² preſerue that Church (wherof vnder God he is ſet by God as the chiefe Gouvernour) from the ſpoile and tyrannie of forcaine uſurpers: Nay the latter may not vnſafely be inferred vpon the former: And if in regard of that preſeruation onely wee now pay his Maieſty what thoſe tyrants formerly receiued, he receiues nothing but what he rightly may, nor we pay but what in duety and conſcience we ought.

¹ See the Statute.

² Witneſſe the Church of Saint Albons.

B. C.

36.

There is yet another obiection or two in reaſon of ſtate, concerning your Maieſty, which ſeeme to be harder to anſwere then all the reſt: Whereof the one is, that your Maieſtie hath undertaken the cauſe in writing, and ſet out a booke in print, and it muſt needes be great diſhonour to you to recall it. This indeede is it which I haue heard the ¹ Calviniſts of England often wiſh for before it was done, and much boaſt of after it was by meanes effected, that your Maieſtie ſhould no longer be able to ſhew your ſelfe indifferent, as you did at the firſt, but were now engaged vpon your honour to maintaine their party, and oppugne the Catholikes, and altogether to ſuppreſſe them: But there is ² nothing in that booke why your Maieſty may not when you pleaſe admit the Popes Supremacie in ſpirituals, and you are partly engaged thereby to admit the triall of the firſt general Councils, and moſt ancient fathers, and as for the queſtion of Antichriſt, it is but an Hypotheticall Propoſition, and ſo reſerued as you may recall your ſelfe when you will: And howſoeuer that booke came forth, either of your owne diſpoſition, or by the daily inſtigation of ſome others that did abuſe your clemency, and ſeek to ſend you of

¹ It ſeemes then that they, whom you call Calviniſts as touching the conſiſſion of his faith, are of the ſame iudgement with his Maieſty.
² To grant that which notwithstanding is not falſe as I haue ſhewed in mine anſwere to this Sect, yet are there many things in the ſame booke, which if his Maieſty maintaine, as vpon his honour he is bound to doe, he can neuer turne Roman Cath.

3 K. Henry neuer contradicted his booke.

4 From thence it followes, that by your owne acknowledgement, what his Maiesty hath written is good.

their owne errands; it cannot serue their turnes, nor bind: your Maiesty from hearkening to an end of contention. For if King Henry the VIII. in the iudgement of Protestants might save his honour and contradict his booke from very good to starke naught, they must not deny, but that your Maiesty may increase your Honour by altering your booke from lesse & good to much better.

G. H.

36.

There are not onely two, but many more *Obiections* that might be made in reason of State concerning his Maiesty, which not onely seeme, but are indeede harder to answer, then your poore and slight euasions can giue satisfaction to any man of iudgement; whereof a chiefe one is his Maiesties vndertaking the cause in writing, wherein wee are bound to blesse God that hath set such a King ouer vs, whom he hath indowed with such singular gifts, as to giue occasion to such an *Obiection*. Hee was no foole that pronounced that Cōmon-wealth happy, where learned men had the gouernment, or the gouernors were learned: and another who holds those wise men in the Gospel who came from the East, are therefore held Kings, because they were learned, which I speake not to derogate frō other Kings, but to thanke God for our owne, whose drops that fall both from histongue and Pen are as the Prophet *David* speaks in another case, like raine falling vpon the mowen grasse, or as showers that water the earth. We haue read in our own Chronicles of one *Bladud* a *Brittish* King, who studied at *Athens*, of *Alured* a *Saxon* King, who translated the Psalter into his own language, of *Henry* a *Norman* King, who for his great scholarship was surnamed the *Beaclarke*, but for a King (only *Dauid* and *Salomon* excepted) that hath written so much, and so well as his Maiestie, & exposing it to publike censure, hath left it as an euerlasting monumēt of his name to posterity, for mine owne part I must confesse in my small reading, I haue not met with any, either in our owne or forreine History: Some Kings haue done somewhat in this kinde, but hee excelleth them all:

so that for a Christian King to write and to publish his writings to the world, euen in matter of Religion, is not without example. The Booke of *Charlemaine* in defence of the decree of the Synode of *Frankford*, which himselfe had thither called; and against the Canons of the second *Nicene Council*; touching the controuersie of adoring images, is yet extant to bee seene in the *Palatine library*: & so is it acknowledged by *Augustinus Steuchus* in his second booke of *Constantines* donation, where hee presses some things in that Booke for the *Popes* aduantage: Howbeit *Bellarmino* in his second Booke of Images and 15th. Chapter, labour to prooue the contrary, granting that it was sent by that Emperour to *Pope Adrian*, but not as his owne. His *Maiesties* Bookes, as well the former in defence of the *Oath of Allegiance*, as the later by way of *Premonition to the Christian States*, are no doubt, as great corrasiuues and eyesores to you, as to vs they are cordiall and comfortable: and cannot be but to him as dishonourable, if hee should recall them, as now they are honourable if hee continue constant to himselfe and them.

Now that they should proceede rather from the instigation of others, then his owne disposition, is a surmise of your owne, I know not, whether more foolish, as being ignorant of that which hee had both written and spoken and done since hee came to yeeres of discretion conformably thereunto, or dishonest in calling his *Maiesties* singular wisdom into question, in suffering himselfe to bee so farre abused, as unwittingly to bee sent on other mens errands, and to serue other mens turnes.

Howsoeuer, there is nothing (you say) in that booke (by which you cannot but vnderstand both the *Premonition*, and the *Apologie*, both bound together in one volume, and titled together in one front) why his Maiestie may not when he please admit the *Popes* Supremacie in *Spirituals*: wherein first you dash (though peraduenture vnawares) against your great *Cardinal*, who in his Letter to *Blackwell*, professeth, [that in whatsoeuer words the *Oath of Allegiance* (in defence of which his *Maiestie* wrot this *Apologie*) bee conceived, it tends to none other

end, but that the authorie of the head of the Church of England, may bee transferred from the Successour of S. Peter to the Successour of K. Henry the VIII.] this indeed he affirms falsly, but both in his *Tortus* against his *Maiesties Apologie*, and in his *Apologie* against his *Maiesties Premonition*, hee affirmeth truely that the viurped *Supremacie* of the Bishop of Rome is in them both impugned: And I cannot but marueile at such shamelesse impudencie as dares thus to write to his *Maiestie* touching his owne writings, whose very words toward the latter end of his *Apologie* are these (discourfing before of the *Supremacie* of K. Henry the VIII. in Church-matters, for which Bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas Moore were pretended to haue suffered.) [*I am sure (saith hee) that the Supremacie of Kings may and will euer be better maintained by the word of God (which must euer be the true rule to discerne all weighty heads of doctrine by) to bee the true and proper office of Christian Kings in their owne dominions, then hee will euer be able to maintaine his annihilating Kings and their authorities, together with his base and vnreuerent speeches of them, wherewith both his former great volumes and his late bookes against Venice are filled.*] Where he goes on and proues this *Supremacie* as well by the Old as the New Testament, and the practise both of the Kings of Israel and the Christian Emperours in the Primitiue Church, both explaining and iustifying the *Oath of Supremacie*, as it is by him imposed, and taken by vs, and in his *Premonition* written afterward (though set before in the Booke) he is so cleere in this point, that M^r. D^r. cannot but stand conuincied either of grosse negligēce in not reading, or vnpardonable forgetfulness in not remembring what he had read: His *Maiesties* words are these: [*But as I well allow of the Hierarchie of the Church for distinction of orders (for so I understand it) so I vterly deny that there is an earthly Monarch thereof, whose word must be a Law, and who cannot erre in his sentence by an infallitie of spirit. Because earthly Kingdomes must haue earthly Monarchies it doth not follow that the Church must haue a visible Monarch too: for the world hath not one earthly*

Temporall

*Temporall Monarch. Christ is his Churches Monarch, and the holy Ghost his Depatie, *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic. Christ did not promise before his Ascension to leave Peter with them to direct and instruct them in all things, *but he promised to send the holy Ghost unto them to that end. And for these two before cited places, whereby Bellarmine makeith the Pope to triumph over Kings; I meane *Pascé oues, and *Tibi dabo clauces, the Cardinall knowes well enough the same words of Tibi dabo are in another place spoken by Christ in the plurall number: and hee likewise knowes what reasons the ancients doe giue why Christ bade Peter Pascé oues: and also what a cloud of witnesses there is, both of ancients, and euen of late Popish Writers, yea diuers Cardinals, that doe all agree, that both these speeches vsed to Peter were meant to all the Apostles represented in his person, otherwise how could Paul direct the Church of Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous person Cum Spiritu suo, whereas he should then haue sayed Cum Spiritu Petri? and how could all the Apostles haue otherwise vsed all their censures only in Christs Name, and neuer a word of his Vicars? Peter we read did in all the Apostles meetings sit among them as one of their number, and when chosen men were sent to Antiochia from that Apostolike Councell at Ierusalem, the text sayeth, it seemed good to the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church to send chosen men, but no mention made of the head thereof; and so in their Letters no mention is made of Peter, but onely of the Apostles, Elders, and Brethren. And it is a wonder why Paul rebuketh the Church of Corinth, for making exception of persons, *because some followed Paul, some Apollos, some Cephas; if Peter was their visible head: for then those that followed not*

* Luke 22. 35.

* Iohn 14. 16.

* Iohn 21. 15.

16. 17.

* Mat. 18. 18.

* 1. Cor. 5. 4.

* Acts 15.

* 1. Cor. 1. 12.

Peter

Peter or Cephas renounced the Catholike Faith: But it
 appeareth well, that Paul knew little of our new doctrine,
 since he handleth Peter so rudely, * as hee not only compa-
 reth; but preferreth himselfe vnto him: But our Cardinall
 prooues Peters Superiority by Pauls going to visite him:
 Indeed Paul sayeth, he went to Ierusalem to visite Peter,
 and to conferre with him: * but he should haue added, and
 to kisse his feet: To conclude then, the trueness is, that
 Peter was both in age, and in the time of Christs calling
 him one of the first of the Apostles; in order the principall
 of the first twelue, and one of the three, whome Christ for
 orders sake preferred to all the rest, and no further did the
 Bishop of Rome claime for three hundred yeere after
 Christ: Subiect they were to the generall Councels, and euen
 but of late did the Councell of Constance depose three
 Popes, and set vp the fourth, and till Phocas dayes, that
 murdered his Master, were they subiect to Emperours:
 But how they are now come to bee Christs Vicars, Gods on
 earth, Triple Crowned Kings of Heauen, Earth, and Hell,
 Iudges of all the world, and none to iudge them, heads of the
 Faith, absolute deciders of all controuersies by the infallibi-
 litie of their spirit, hauing all power both Spirituall and
 Temporall in their hands, the high Bishops, Monarchs of
 the whole earth, Superiours to all Emperours, and Kings,
 yea Supreme Vice-gods, who, whether they will or not, can
 not erre. How they are now come, I say to this top of great-
 nesse I know not: but sure I am, Wee that are kings, haue
 greatest need to looke to it. As for me, Paul and Peter I
 know, but these men I know not, and yet to doubt of this, is
 to denie the Catholike Faith, nay, the Word it selfe must be
 turned upside downe, and the order of Nature inuerted,
 (making the left hand to haue the place before the right,)

that

* Bol. de Rom.
 pmt. lib. 1. cap. 37.

that this Primacie may be maintained.] Thus we see how clearly and strongly his *Maiesstie* both in his Apologie proues the *Supremacie* of Kings in causes Ecclesiasticall, and disproues in his *Premonition* the pretended *Supremacie* of Popes, euen in Spirituall, denying them to be *Christ* Vicars, *Peters* Successors, visible Monarchs, heads of the Faith, deciders of all controuerfies, high Priests, vniuersall Bishops, and destroying the two maine grounds of that Monarchie, the *Supremacie* of *S. Peter*, and their infallibilitie in iudging.

Truely in the Writing hereof mee thought I was touched with shame and pittie, that a Diuine should with such palpable falshoods, belie his Soueraigne, and gull the world, and a Doctor of Diuinitie so fowlie stumble in so plaine and manifest a case: howbeit it cannot be denyed to be true, which he addes, that his *Maiesstie* by that Booke is partly ingaged to admit the triall of the first generall Councils, and the most ancient Fathers.

For the Councils [I reuerence and admit (saith hee) the foure first generall Councils as Catholike & Orthodoxe, and the said foure generall Councils are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and receiued for Orthodoxe by our Church. And for the Fathers (saith hee) I reuerence them as much and more then the Iesuits doe, for what euer the Fathers, for the first fise hundred yeeres, did with an vnanimie consent agree vpon, to be beleeued as a necessarie point of saluation, I either will beleene it also, or at least will be humbly silent, not taking vpon me to condemne the same: but for euery priuate Fathers opinion, it bindes not my conscience more then Bellarmine, euery one of the Fathers vsually contradicting others. I will therefore in that case follow *S. Augustines* rule in iudging of their opinions, as I find them agree with the Scriptures: what I find agreeable thereunto I will gladly imbrace, what is otherwise I will with their reuerence reiect.] So that his *Maiesstie* ad-

mitteth the *four first Councils*, not as *Diuine Oracles*, or as the *four Gospels*, but as *Catholike and Orthodoxe*; and reuerenceth the *most ancient Fathers*, not as the *holy Scriptures*, but as *consonant thereunto*.

And if that triall should be made, your holy Father would thereby gaine as litle for the countenancing of his vsurped Supremacie, as *Zozimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celestine* his Predecessours, in forging a Canon of the first *Nicene Council* for their pretended Iurisdiction in appeales, and labouring to force the Council of *Carthage* thereunto, whereas that Council in precise termes confineth other Bishops, and Patriarchs to the exercise of their iurisdiction within their own Diocesses or Prouinces, as the Custome of the Bishop of *Rome* was, the words are these, [*Let old Customes be kept: they that are in Egypt, and Lybia, and Pentapolis: that the Bishop of Alexandria haue the prebeminence of all these, because such is the Custome of the Bishop of Rome too: likewise also in Antioch and in other Prouinces, let the Churches enioy their dignities and prerogatiues*] which words of the Council grounding on the Custome of the B. of *Rome*, that as he had preeminence of all the Bishops about him: so *Alexandria* and *Antioch* should haue of all about them; and likewise other Churches, as the Metropolitan each in their owne Prouinces, doe shew that the *Pope* neither had preeminence of all through the world before the *Nicene Council*, nor ought to haue greater preeminence by their iudgement then he before time had.

Can. 6.
2 In prefat. lib.
de fide.

This Council was called about 327. yeeres after *Christ*, and there met in it 318. Bishops, the chiefelights of *Christian Religion* at that time, *Ambrose* saying, ² that their number was mystically prefigured in those 318. Souldiers, by whome *Abraham* got the victory ouer the *five Kings*.

The second generall Council was helde at *Constantinople*, against *Macedonius*, who denyed the Diuinitie of the holy Ghost consisting of 150. Bishops, about the yeere 383. called by *Theodosius* the Elder, who both prescribed the place and time, the matter to be discussed, and maner of proceeding in it, sent his Deputie thither to supplie his roome, as moderator

rator or president for the keeping of order & obseruing of decency, and lastly by his Imperiall power, ratified the Decrees thereof: all which acts flowing from the prerogative of his place and office, are now denied by the *Pope* and his flatterers any way to belong to Emperours, or Christian Princes: besides this, the Councell it selfe layed a foundation for that which the fourth generall Councell further built vpon, in equalizing the See of *Constantinople*, or new *Rome* to that of the olde.

The thirde generall Councell was held at *Ephesus* in the yeere 430. summoned by *Theodosius* the younger against the *Nestorian* heresie, which diuided *Christ* into two persons, it consisted of 200. Bishops: This Councell (in which *S. Cyrill* was president) not onely prescribed and limited the *Popes* Legate, and others that were sent in ambassage to the Prince, what they should doe, but added this threatening, [*Scire autem volumus vestram Sanctitatem, quod si quid horum contemptum fuerit, neq. Sancta Synodus habebit rata, neq. vos Communions fines esse participes.* Wee giue your Holinesse to vnderstand, that if any of these things (which we haue appointed you) be omitted by you, neither will this holy Synode ratifie your actes, nor receaue you to the Communion:] By which it is euident that the lawful and generall Councell of *Ephesus*, thought they might, and sayd they would; not onely controle; but euen excommunicate the *Popes* Vicegerent, if hee did not that which was enioyned him by the Synode.

The fourth and last generall Councell which his Maieslie reuerenceth as Orthodoxe, was the great Council of *Chalcedon*, consisting of 630. Bishops, called by *Martian* the Emperour in the yeere 454. against *Eutiches*, who in extreame opposition to *Nestorius* confounded the natures of *Christ*, making of two distinct natures but one, whereas *Nestorius* rent asunder his person, making of one two. This great Councell then gaue the Bishop of *Constantinople* equall priuiledges with the Bishop of *Rome*, as may appeare in the fifteenth Acte of that Councell, and when *Paschasius* and *Lucentius*, who represented the person of *Leo*, then Bishop of *Rome*, the

next day desired of the noble men that sat there by the Emperours appointment; as Iudges and Moderatours, that the matter might be brought about againe, and put to voices, pretending that it was not orderly past, the Councell that in the absence of the *Popes* Legates had made this Decree, in their presence confirmed the same, they contradicting and labouring, as it had beene for their lues to withstand it.

And since his *Maiestie* and the Realme haue vndertaken the defence of these foure Councils, it were to bee wished they might, if not otherwise, yet by publike authority, bee faithfully translated by some chosen men of our owne, out of their Originals; and where diuerse readings offer themselves vpon comparing of the best printed Copies and Manuscripts, the most likely might bee giuen; the worke would not bee great and the benefit in my iudgement issuing from thence not small.

³ Pag. 89, 90,
91, 92, 93.

⁴ Episc. Eli. in
responsad Apol.
Card. Bellar. pag.
167, 168, 169,
170, 171, 172.

Now for such things as may in shew bee drawn out of these Councils to make against vs, and for the Church of *Rome*, I referre the reader to ³ *Bellarmines Apologie* against his *Maiesties* Premonition, where hee hath put together whatsoeuer either diligence could obserue, or malice wrest, so that whosoever shall now gleane after him, shall gaine as little credite to himselfe, as aduantage to his cause, yet whatsoeuer he hath said, or for his purpose pressed from thence, is so fully and sufficiently answered by a reuerend & learned ⁴ Prelate of our owne, as if our Doctour would haue dealt either as a Scholler, or an honest man, hee should first haue vndertaken the confutation of that answer, before hee had againe pressed his *Maiestie* with the triall of those Councils.

From the first Generall Councils, hee proceedes to the most ancient Fathers; but what neede any farther question of single Fathers, since wee haue heard them speaking, met together in Councill? His *Maiestie* confines himselfe to the first 300. yeeres, and to their *Unanime* consent, and that in matters of saluation; and all this granted, hee doth not alwayes promise a stedfast beleefe, but an humble silence. Now *Bellarmino*, despairing belike, to put the matter to the triall of their testimonies.

testimonies, complaine that his *Maiestie* descends not lower, and stoopes as well to the later writers, as *Bonaventure*, and *Thomas*, and *Anselmo*, whereas our Controuersies are of that nature, as they cannot bee received as sufficient witnesses in the deciding of them: they sell vpon those times, which the farther distant they were from the fountaine; the more filth they gathered, and as the winds are hot, or cold, dry or moist, according to the qualitie of the Regions through which they blowe, and waters relish of the soile through which they run, so did they of the ages in which they liued. And for the most ancient, *Bellarmino* himselfe commonly dazels the eyes of the world, either with the bastardy of false, or the corruptio of true Fathers, whom hee esteemes, as they make more or lesse for his purpose, none otherwise then merchants doe their casting counters; sometimes in his valuation they stand for pounds, sometimes for shillings, sometimes for pence, sometimes for nothing. ⁵ *Irenaeus*, and *Iustine Martyr*, who succeeded *Polycarpe* and *Ignatius*, the hearers and disciples of *S. Iohn the Euangelist*, held [that the deuils were not tormented, nor to bee tormented, before the generall day of Iudgement] in which opinion they are seconded by ⁶ *Epiphanius* and *Oecumenius*, neither doe I see (sayth *Bellarmin*) how we may defend them from error; of ⁷ *Origen* he sayes who liued about 200. yeeres after *CHRIST*, that hee was seene to burne in Hell fire with ⁸ *Arrius* and *Nestorius*; of ⁹ *Tertullian* (who liued about the same time) that he was an *Arch-heretike* of no credit, ¹⁰ *Sozomen* hee accuses of falsehood in his *Apologie*, touching *Paphnutius* his proceeding about the marriage of Churchmen, and the Fathers yeelding vnto him in the *Nicen* Council; touching the iurisdiction of Bishops: ¹¹ *Ieromes* opinion (saith he) is false, and in its proper place to bee refuted; *S. Augustine* expounding those wordes as wee doe, *Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke will I build my Church*, he charges with error out of his ignorance in the Hebrew tongue: Whereby we may perceiue what account themselves make of the ancient Fathers, who call most hotly for a triall by them.

And in truth if Mr. Doctour had well considered how *Polycarpe*,

5 Lib. 5. ultra med. in Apol. 1. & 2. sapientia repetit.

6 In haesi. S. theodorum in cap. ult. 1. Pet.

7 De Sanctis. atq. lib. 1. cap. 6.

8 Lib. 2. de purgat. cap. 8.

9 De S. beat. lib. 1. cap. 5.

10 Lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. cap. 8.

11 Pag. 89.

11 Lib. 1. de Rom. Pont. cap. 8.

12 Cypri-Epist.
ad Pompo. cont.
Epist. Steph.

licarpe; *S. Iohn Schollet* (as I sayd before) withstood *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* about the obseruation of *Easter*, and *Polycrates* *Vicar* in the same businesse; how vehemently *Stephen* was resisted by *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, dying as a martyr, and Canonized for a Saint; to whom he imputes error, and the maintenance of the cause of Heretikes against the Church of God; the defence of things superfluous, impertinent, false, naught, contrary to themselves, presumption, forwardnesse, perversenesse, blindness of heart, inflexible obstinacie: Lastly, how *Athanasius* that renowned *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, that stout champion of *Iesus* *Christ*, that pillar of the Church, and hammer of Heretikes, was persecuted for the Catholike faith; *Pope Liberius* consenting and subscribing to the Synodal sentence, whereby he was excluded from the Communion of the Church, as witnesseth *Binius* in his first Tome of the Councils: *I* *M. Doctour*, I say, had well considered this, together with that famous resistance made by the sixe Council of *Carthage* (in which *S. Augustine* was a member) to the vniust claime of three succeeding Popes, *Zozimus*, *Boniface* and *Celestine*, in the high businesse of Appeals; hee might in good discretion haue forborne to presse his Maiestie to the triall of the most ancient Fathers.

Now touching the question of *Antichrist*, it is not discussed by his Maiestie as an hypoteticall proposition, but as his opinion, his Maiesties words are these, [As for the definition of *Antichrist* I will not urge so obscure a point as a matter of faith to be necessarily beleened of all Christians, but what I thinke herein I will simply declare.] *Cardinall Peron* indeed makes the proposition of deposing Kings, to bee problematicall, and yet withall a part of the Catholike faith; but his Maiestie, though he make his opinion of *Antichrist* no part of his faith, yet being his opinion, in regard of his apprehension, you cannot make it hypoteticall, which hee also declared to bee his iudgement before his coming to the Crowne of *England*, by his *Comminatorie* on certaine verses of the 20th. Chapter of the *Revelation* of *S. Iohn*, neither is his Maiestie the onely King that hath been of that opinion. You may remember not long since one of
the

the *French*, who stamped on his coyne, *Perdam Babylonem*; untill then, his *Maiesties* substantiall and weighty reasons touching that point, bee disprooued, I see no reason hee hath to recall what hee hath written; in the meane time his *Maiestie* may more iustly take vp that, then the Author of it, [what I haue written, I haue written] lest hee should incur the censure off * changing as the Moone.]

Lastly, for the example of Henry the VIII, it is both false and impertinent, false, in that you say he contradicted his booke, whereas his booke (as I haue already shewed) is onely touching the seuen Sacraments, which he held to his dying day: impertinent, in that you take it as granted that his Majesty by recalling himselfe should alter from lesse good to much better, which is the thing alwayes by vs denied; but neuer was or cuer can be proved by you. Indeed we find that St. Augustine made his *Retractions* from naught or lesse good to better, and *Be-larmino* in his *Recognitions* from bad to worse, and Dr. *Cariet* to haue fallen from a formall Protestant, to a professed Papist; and as our Sauour speakes to Saint *Peter*, thou being conuerred, strengthen thy brethren; So hee contrariwise being himselfe peruerred, labours to weaken his *Majesties* faith, but it is groundod on that Rocke, against which the gates of hell with their power, much lesse the instruments of Rome with their foisting and cogging shall neuer be able to preuaile.

B. C.

The other and the greatest objection, that howsoever your Ma-
iesty before your coming to the Crowne, and in the beginning of
your reigne were indifferent; yet after the Gun-powder treason
you were so angered and awerred, as now you are resolved neuer to be
friends, and therefore he is no good subject that will either himselfe
be reconciled to the Church of Rome, or perswade any of your sub-
jects therunto. I confesse your Maiesty had good cause to bee
- 144 -
thoroughly

3 I guesse at your meaning, your Cath, had cause to be angry that it succeeded not.

3 Belike you understand the Parliament, who perswaded his Maiesty to the imposing of the oath of allegiance.

4 His Maiesty may both detect the fact, and punish the offenders, and endeavour by wholesome lawes to prevent the like mischief, and yet both live and die in charity.

5 Where is that reason?

6 God indeed is exorable, but vpon submission, and hearty contrition, which yet appears not, either in the tongues or pens of Romanists.

7 Quid opus est verbis, quum facta se ostendunt?

8 His Maiesty is as the Angel of God, wise to discern who they are that labour to misinforme him, and misleade his people.

thoroughly angry, and so had all good men whether^a Catholikes or Protestants, but if your Maiesty will hearken to^b those that worke their owne purposes out of your anger, you shall bee drinen to^c a line and die but of charity, which although it bee not so horrible to the body, yet is it much more harmefull to the soule, then violent or sudden death. It is hard I confesse for a private man to assuage his anger on the sudden, and there is as much difference betwixt the anger of a private man, and the indignations of a Prince, as betwixt a blast vpon the river which is soone done, and a storme vpon the sea, which hauing raised the billowes to the height, is nourished by the motion therof, and cannot settle againe in a long time; but there is a time for all things, and seuen yeeres is a long time. When a man is in the midst of his anger, it pleaseth him not to bee intreated by his neighbours, much lesse by his seruants, but when a man hath chidden and punished untill he is weary, hee will bee content to heare his seruant speake^d reason, and though he be not the wisest, yet he is the louingst seruant that will venter to speake to his master in such a case. ^e God himselfe is exorable, and it pleaseth him to be intreated by his seruants for his enemies. I am perswaded there is no good Catholike in the world that can be your Maiesties enemy, and therefore I doe assure my selfe that God will be pleased with you to heare them speake, and not bee angry with me for mouing you thereunto. And if your Maiesty doe but vouchsafe so much patience, as to giue equall^f hearing, I doubt not but you shall receiue such satisfaction as will giue you great quiet and contentment, and disquiet none of your subiects, but those onely that doe for their aduantage^g misinforme your Maiesty, and misleade your people. And if your Maiesty haue no such vse of the Schisme, as King Henry the VIII. and Queene Elizabeth had, and that it doth neither increase your authority, nor your wealth, nor your honour, but rather hinder them all, and deprive you of that blessing which otherwise you might expect from CHRIST and his Church, from your Catholike neighbour Princes and subiects, and from the Saints in heauen, in whose Communion is the comfort of euery Christian both in life and death, then whatsoeuer some great Statofman may say to the contrary, I do verely beleeme they doe but speake for themselves. And that there is no true reason that may concerne your Maiesty to hinder you from admit-

admitting a^o toleration of Catholikes and Catholike Religion, that those who cannot command their understanding to thinke otherwise, may find the comfort they doe with so great zeale pursue in the unite of the Catholike Church, amongst whome I confesse my selfe to be one, that would thinke my selfe the happiest man in the world, if I might understand that your Maieſty were content that I should bee so.

⁹ It should seeme then, you are fallen from the hope of perswading his Maieſty to become a Rom. Cath. to the toleration of that religion, which notwithstanding he cannot admit without double perjury, See Tertima Torti, pag. 82.

G. H.

37.

You come at last to the greatest objection, as you terme it, which is the Gun-powder treason, but doubtlesse in the iudgement of any indifferent reader, you say least in the clearing of it, seeming rather in conclusion to referre it to a farther hearing, then for the present to answer the objection, or excuse the plot: That which you haue to say, is, that there is a time for all things, and God himselfe is exorable, as if his Maieſty were mercilesse and inexorable: whereas hee proceeded vpon the discouery of that most barbarous designe, with such rare clemency and singular moderation, that iustice was onely taken vpon the very actors, and offenders themselues, and that in as honourable and publike a forme of triall, as euer was vsed in this kingdome; and [although (as his Maieſty himselfe hath well obserued) the onely reason they gaue for plotting so hainous an attempt was, the zeale they caried to the Romish Religion; yet were neuer any other of that profession the worse vsed for that cause,] as by his Maieſties gracious Proclamation, immediately after the discouery of the said fact, doth plainly appeare, onely at [the next sitting down againe of the Parliament, were there Lawes made, enacting some such orders as were thought fit for the preuenting the like mischiefe in time to come, amongst which a forme of oath was framed, to bee taken by his subiects, whereby they should make a cleare profession of their resolution, faithfully to persist in their obedience, according to their naturall allegiance, to the end a separation might bee made betweene so many of his Maieſties Subiects, who although they were otherwise Popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall Al-

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legiance

legance to their Soueraigne, and those who being caried away with the like fanaticall zeale that the Powder-traitours were, could not containe themselves within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance; but thought diuersitie of Religion a safe pretext for all kinde of Treasons and Rebellions against their Soueraigne:] Which godly and wise intent God blessed with successe accordingly; for very many Subiects that were Popishly affected, aswell Priests, as Laickes, did freely take the same oath, whereby they both gaue his Maiestie occasion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewise freed themselves of that heauie slander, that [although they were Fellow-professours of one Religion with the Powder-traitors; yet were they not ioy-
ned with them in treasonable courses against their Soueraigne, whereby all quietly minded Papists were put out of despaire, and his Maiestie gaue good prooffe, that hee intended no persecution against them for conscience sake; but onely desired to be secured of them for
cinill obedience, which for conscience sake they were bound to performe] I vse his Maiesties very words, because he is best able to expresse himselfe, and I know not how to expresse my selfe better, nor by many degrees so well.

These were the greatest effects of his Maiesties anger vpon occasion of the Powder-treason, which notwithstanding, to shew your Rhetorike, you compare to a storme vpon the Sea raising up the billowes to the height, making him inexorable, impatient of any equall hearing, chiding and punishing, untill he were weary: whereas if his Maiestie had but giuen way to the fury of the multitude, the chiefe offenders (no doubt) had beene torne in pieces before they could haue come to the place of execution, or of triall, and if the like monstrous, and neuer heard of offence had beene committed by Protestants, for their Religions sake in other countries, the body of that profession had suffered for it. Indeed his Maiestie had sufficient occasion giuen, that his wrath should haue beene as the roaring of a Lyon, which is the Herald of death: but bearing the Image of God, and being the Vicegerent of God on earth, nay stiled God, by God himselfe, his mercy so triumphed against his iustice, that he seemed not to be moued as the hainousnes of so horrible
a fact

a fact required, vntill his *Holineſſe* by his two *Breues*, and *Cardinall Bellarmine* by his Letter to the Arch-priest, thoroughly awakened him, they thereby diſſwading his Subiects from taking that moſt reaſonable *Oath of Allegiance*, and checking the Arch-priest for taking it: to theſe his *Maieſtie* in his booke Intituled *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*, or an *Apologie* for the oth of *Allegiance*, vouchſafed with his owne Penne to frame a full and quicke anſwere, alſwell for the ſatisfaction of ſcrupulous conſciences, as for the iuſtifying of his owne proceedings, to which the *Cardinal* vnder the name of *Tortus* makes his reply, and hauing on his viſarde, dealt with his *Maieſtie* at his pleaſure, in ſuch termes, as neither became a Churchman to giue, nor a Prince to take: whereupon his *Maieſtie* being nowe ſomewhat warmed, once againe tooke his quill in hand, and wrote that excellent *Premonition to the Monarchs and free States of Chriſtendome* (as the Prince of *Aurange* did his *Apologie* to the States of the Netherlands, hauing his head proſcribed by *Phillip* the ſecond King of *Spaine* for the ſumme of 25000. Crownes) wherein hee not onely refutes *Bellarmines* reply; but by a large Confession of his Faith cleareth himſelfe from all imputation of Hereſie, and with all moſt iudiciouſly ſetteth downe the reaſons of his opinion, why he cannot but conceane the *Bishop of Rome* to be *Antichriſt*: To this the *Cardinall* againe reioyneth, ſomewhat more manerly in ſhew, but indeed no whit leſſe faucily then in his former diſcourſe, and how many ¹⁴ Hell-hounds haue followed vpon the ſame ſent, the world to well knoweth, beſides it is not vnknown how ſome of the plotters, or at leaſt wiſe abettors in that intended Tragedy, haue their *Apologies* published from *Rome*, and others their protection in *Rome*; nay, the doctrine which gaue life to that, and giues way to the like attempt, is as violently maintained by the *Romiſh* Doctores, as euer, beſide infinite other writers, witnes *Beaumanoirs* expoſtulatory defence of *Smarez* againſt *Seruius* expoſitory cōplaint, as alſo *Cardinal Perrens*, and his fellow Prelates late proceedings in *France*, together with his *Holineſſe* benediſtiō for that ſpeciall peece of ſeruice, both the *Cardinal* in his oration, & the *Pope* in his Letter,

14 Chriſtianomic

Pacemius
Becon
Parſons
Ceques
Eudamon
Schoppins
Reboule
Caffitean
Peltier
Gretſer
Smarez
Beaumanoir

labouring to disgrace our Church & State: with what assurance then can his *Majesty* ioyne hands with *Rome*? since though the Powder be removed frō vnder the Parliament house, yet they still prepare new matter for the like *Blow*, and no doubt but *Paulus V.* would be as ready to make his Oration in Conclaue, in commendation of it being once acted, as *Sixtus Quintus* was in commendating that mortall blow giuen *Henry the thirde of France* by a Friar *Iacobin*; which that it may the rather appeare, I will hereunto annexe the Translation of his Letter to *Cardinall Perron*, and the other *French* Prelates assembled in Parliament, the Originall it selfe is but a barbarous *Papall* stile, and therefore it cannot be expected, but the Translation should be futable, the Letter was written vpon occasion of a Bill passed in the Lower-house, crossing the *Popes* pretended Power, in Depositing and Murthering Princes, and crossed by the Clergie.

Pope Paul the fifth.

Venerable Brother, & our beloued Son, and likewise Venerable Brethren, and beloued Sonnes, greeting and Apostolicall benediction. The excesse of boldnesse, wherby some, as we haue heard in the generall assembly, there held in the 2. of *Ian.* haue endeououred to violate the sacred authority of the Apostolike See, hath so troubled our minde, that were we not comforted by the firme confidence wee haue in the singular pietie and prudence of our dearest children, *King Lewis* and *Queene Mary* his mother, whom we vnderstand

stand to haue been carefull to repress so vnad-
uised an attempt, and in the admirable zeale
wherewith you being kindled, haue no lesse
constantly and couragiously, then wisely and
religiously withstood so great rashnesse, wee
had been vtterly ouerwhelmed with intolerable
griefe; and indeed this had been a fearefull
token, seeing wee may not without cause sus-
pect, lest into *France haue flowen sparkes of the la-
mentable fire of England*, to the consuming and
destruction of all true Pietie and Religion in
that most Christian Kingdome, which wee
trust, relying on Gods helpe, shall alwayes
more and more increase vnder the patronage
of so godly a King, trained vp with so great
vigilancie to this end, principally by a most re-
ligious, and truely most Christian mother,
you thereunto diligently yeelding your helpe,
as you alwayes commendably haue done: but
although such hopes doe not a little comfort
vs, yet are wee not for all this free, and void
of all affliction and trouble: yea, wee are ve-
hemently anguished, considering with our
selues, in how crosse and stormie a time, wee,
by the secret dispensation of God, vndertooke
the guiding of *S. Peters Barke*, standing doubt-

full and perplexed, lest happily through our negligence the sinke of vices increase, and consequently the nauigation growe more dangerous and difficult: for this cause wee dayly flie vnto him, and implore his helpe, who as without any merit of ours, so also when wee thought nothing lesse, was pleased we should sit at the sterne, and guide the helme: whom wee pray, that while the waues rush against the Prow, and heapes of foming Sea swell on each side, and tempest follow in the Sterne, hee not suffer any wracke, notwithstanding so violent shaking of the shippe; meane while we giue the greatest thanks to his infinite goodnesse, that in the greatest danger which hitherto happily wee haue been in, hee hath relieued vs with most seasonable succours; to wit, by your singular vertue, and provided for the safetie of the Kingdome of *France*, by the counsell, industry, and religious fortitude of the Ecclesiasticall order of that Kingdome; and on the other side wee gratulate you much, and with all greatly praise you, that your *France* nowe beholdeth flourishing againe in you the zeale, pietie, learning, and magnanimity of her holy Fathers, *Denis, Hilary, Martin, Bernard*, and the rest,

rest, whose memorie is blessed for their care of Gods honour, and the Churches dignity, yea, and all the holy Church of God may acknowledge of your company, Cardinals of such eminence, as become so worthy members of the holy Apostolike Sea, and Bishops, and Prelats, and Pastours, who are good seruants, and faithfull, and truly worthy of their Master, hauing really shewed, that they loue his glory more then themselves; true Pastours of the sheepe of Christ, who for the saluation of their flocke haue not doubted to lay downe their owne life, while by shedding of their owne blood, they haue with so great seruencie of minde shewed themselves ready to maintaine the fences of the Lords folde, that is the Churches Rights: Highly therefore doe wee praise you and gratulate you againe; for what is more laudable? what more glorious? then for the Priests of God, setting aside respect of all humane commoditie, constantly to haue defended the dignity of holy Church, and through zeale of maintaining the Catholike trueth, to neglect their owne life: As also it is to bee ascribed to the greatest happinesse that it so fell out, this noble triall of your Priestly vertue should

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should be made the Pietie and Religion of holy *King Lewis* his Progenitour, no lesse reigning in your King, then the memory of his glorious name reuiues in him; wherefore wee doe the more exhort you, that you alwayes more earnestly persist in your most laudable enterprise; God verely will perfect the worke hee hath begun in you; acknowledge his hand wonderfully moouing the hearts of Kings which hee holdeth, and with one accord beare vp against the violence of the raging Sea, stirred with the storme of humane pride, and the whirlwind of secular wisdom, seuered from the feare of God; doubtles the tempests that are risen, he will allay, who failed not his waue-ring disciples; indeed hee suffereth vs to bee tempted, but giues an issue with the temptation; therefore bee of good courage, knowing that the Iudge standeth aboue and beholdeth the combate of his seruants, to giue vnto euery one a reward worthy of his labour; and he that fighteth valiantly, shall be worthily rewarded. Now we, whose charitie hath been alwayes great toward you in the Lord, vehemently louing you, and highly esteeming your excellent vertue, doe most willingly promise to afford
you

you whatsoeuer helpe or Comfort in the Lord vpon this occasion we can yeeld, being exceedingly bound to you for your so glorious and admirable exploit, not ceasing in the meane time daily to pray vnto God the Father of mercies, that by the increase of his holy grace, hee would vouchsafe alwayes to keepe and strengthen you in his holy seruice, and because wee cannot sufficiently, according to our desire manifest vnto you by writing this most louing affection of our heart vnto you, wee haue giuen in charge to our Venerable Brother, *Robert Bishop of Montpellier* our Apostolike Nounce, that what hee hath receiued in Commission, touching this businesse, more at large from vs, hee caretully by word of mouth impart vnto you, who will also further declare vnto you, what wee thinke fitting for the full perfecting of the businesse: To him therefore shall yee giue altogether the same credence, which yee would to our selues, speaking vnto you. God confirme you in euery good worke, and direct alwayes your Counsels and endeouours according to his holy pleasure, and we from the inmost bowels of our charitie bestow vpon you our Apostolike benediction. Yeuen at Rome

H h

at

at S. Mary the greater, vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the last of Ianuary: 1615. the 15th. yeere of our Popedom.

Petrus Strozza.

Now as long as such griefe, such ioy, such hope, such feare, such loue, such ielousie, is so passionately expressed in the main businesse, about which his *Maiesties* personall and publique quarrell with Rome first beganne, what likelihood is there of perswading his *Maiestie*, that no Roman Catholike in the world can bee his enemy, except first hee bee perswaded that the Pope of Rome is no Roman Catholike, yet, how farre hee was moued to anger, vpon occasion of the Powder-treason against the body of that profession, his owne wordes deliuered in the next session of Parliament, after the discovery of that bloody designe shall testifie, [as for mine owne part (sayth hee) I would wish with those ancient Philosophers, that there were a Christall window in my brest, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart: for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident further then in these two points. The first, caution and warinesse in gouernment, to discover and search out the mysteries of this wickednesse, as farre as may bee. The other after due triall; severity of punishment vpon those that shall bee found guilty of so detestable and unheard of a villenie.] This was the height of his anger, any more then this he declared nor, and lesse then this well he could not. But, before this (you say in the entrance of this Section, stil harping vpon your old string.) He was indifferent, wheras your great Cardinall (a man of no meane intelligence) in his *Tortu*, makes his *Maiesty* to haue bene a *Puritan* whiles hee was in Scotland, and againe confirms the same in his *Apologie*, for that in the first booke of his *Basilicon Doron*, he affirmes that the religio there professed, was grounded vpon the plaine words of the Scripture, and againe (in his second booke) that the reformation of religion in Scotland was extraordinarily wrought by God: And before
the

the Powder treason, he makes him so farre from *indifferencie*, as he faines the seuerity of his lawes against Romane Catholikes, to haue giuen occasion to that foule conspiracy, and to the conspirators (being then without all hope) of entring into so desperate a course. And sure it seemes the Powder-traytours themselues held him not *indifferent*; for they discouered greater anger towards him in the proiecing of that bloody treason, then he toward them or their associates, after the discovery of it, which notwithstanding it seemes by *Watsons* confession (not long before his execution) the Iesuites were hatching before him (vndertaken for religion too) was detected; not full three moneths after his *Maiesties* right to the Crowne before it was settled, or so much as set on his head: nay *Garnet* himselve, their Arch-Priest being sollicitated, not long before the *Queenes* death, by a gentleman of a noble family (but Popishly affected) that when time serued hee would set forward the kings title among Catholikes, returned this answer [that he had nothing to doe with the kings right, or the promoting it, in as much, as he was so hardened in a religion contrary to his, that now there was no hope of his conuersion left.]

Thus we see that neither the Powder-traitours themselues, nor *Watson* and *Clerke* Priests, nor the *Iesuits*, nor the Arch-Priest, nor the Cardinall held him *indifferent* before the Powder-treason, yet Mr. Doctor is of a contrary opinion to them all, perswaded (it may be) by his *Maiesties* Letters, pretended to be addressed before his entrance into this kingdome, in the yeere 1598. to Pope Clement the VIII, Cardinall *Aldobrandin*, and Cardinall *Bellarmino*, that some one of the Scottish nation might bee created Cardinall, by whose intercourse he might more freely and safely negotiate with the Pope: this reason indeede I haue heard some Romane Catholikes much stand vpon; and except this be it, I cannot conceiue what should moue Mr. Doctour thus boldly and frequently, to vpbraid his *Maiessty* with *indifferency*, which was the fault of the Angel of the Church of the **Laodiceas*. And surely he that writing to his *Maiessty* so grossly, erreth about his *Maiesties* writings; I may (I hope without breach of charity) suppose that hee neuer so much as read or

* *Rev. 3. 15.*

2 *Ad M. Torti*
lib. Resp. pag. 191

3 L. of Balme-
rinoch then his
Maiessties Secre-
tary.

saw the full² answer to this *obiestion*, long since published to the view of the world, standing partly vpon his *Maiessties* peremptory deniall, of euer yeelding his consent to the sending of such letters, and giuing the *Pope* to vnderstand by messages deliuered by word of mouth, that if hee had receiued any letters at all, as written from him, he should esteeme them none otherwise, but as counterfeit, or gotten by stealth; partly vpon the confession of the 3³ party himselfe before his *Maiessty*, and the Lords of his Counsell, who, (out of an ambitious desire of aduancing his neere kinsman to the dignity of a *Cardinal*), being then the Secretary of State, shuffed in those letters among others, when his *Maiessty* was ready to take horse, and so by cunning got them to be subscribed; and partly vpon the *Popes* proceedings after the receit of them, which was the shewing of them to such as came thither of the Scottish nation, and demanding whether they thought the subscription to bee his *Maiessties* owne hand, & suffering some to take copies of them; besides he neither answered the Letters, nor granted the suite contained in them, and some yeeres after writing to his *Maiessty* by *St. Iames Lindsay*, he neither mentioned those letters, nor blessed his *Maiessty* with Apostolike benediction; and after all this, sent his two *Breues* to the *Romane* Catholikes here in *England*, for the excluding of him from the Crowne. And thus haue we now not onely the traitours, the secular Priests, the *Iesuits*, the *Arch-Priest*, the *Cardinall*, but the *Pope* himselfe, making against this vaine supposition of his *Maiessties* indifference before the *Powder-treason*.

To conclude this Section then, and therewithall my reply to such pretended motiues, as might incline his *Maiesstie* to reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, or toleration of *Roman* Catholikes, if his *Maiesstie* haue as great reason to continue seperation with the Church of *Rome*, as *Henry* had to make it, and *Queene Elizabeth* to maintaine it, and that it doth increase his lawfull authoritie, both ouer more persons, and in more causes, if it may serue for the better enriching of his coffers, an vnion with that Church, can not but bring both his honour and wisdome into question, being so farre prouoked

prouoked without iust occasion giuen, or any satisfaction hitherto made; and hauing so deeply ingaged himselfe in the quarrell, if thereby hee shall deprive himselfe of that blessing, which otherwise he might expect, and hitherto hath felt from Christ his Sauour, whose cause hee pleadeth from his Christian and truly Catholike neighbour Princes states and Subjects; and lastly, from the Church of CHRIST, in whose communion is the greatest comfort both in life and death, then whatsoeuer some discontented fugitiue, or hired aduocate of Rome, may say to the contrary, I doe verely beleene they doe but speake for themselves, and that there is no true reason that may concerne his Maiesties good, but rather danger and harme, why hee should admit a publike toleration of Papists and Popish Religion, who stoppe their eares at home against the charmer, charme hee neuer so wisely, and abroad with great eagernesse pursue the ruine of their natie countrey, among whom I professe I must hold Mr. Doctor to haue been one, till I be better informed to the contrary.

B. C.

38.

But although your Maiestie sit at the Sterne and command all, yet are you caried in the same shippe, and it is not possible to weild so great a vessell against winde and tyde, and therefore though it doe not concerne your Maiestie in your owne estate, yet if your Lords and your Commons and your Clergie doe reape any great benefit by the Schisme; it will be very hard for your Maiestie to effect vnitie, but if upon due examination there bee no such matter, then is it but the crie of the passengers, who for want of experience are afraid, where there is no danger, and that can be no hinderance, to any course your Maiestie shall thinke to bee best for the attaining of the ² hauen.

1 Many of those passengers who iustly feare danger, haue greater experience in the guiding of this ship then your felie could haue.
2 The attaining of your Haue, we take not to bee the way to Heauen.

G. H.

38.

From his *Maieslie* that sits at the *Sterne*, and commands all, you come to the *Subiect*, but if it were in the power of *Romanists*, I doubt much, whether hee should long sit there, and how hee commands all, well appears by their refusal to take those lawfull Oathes, which hee imposeth. Now for the *Subiect*, you beginne first with the *Lords*, and so descend to the *Commons*, Concluding lastly with the *Clergy*, and sing them feuerally a *Syrens song*, that so being lulled asleepe the *common ship* they are caried in, may dash vpon the *Rocke of Rome*.

B. C.

39.

For mine owne part, for the discharge of my duetie and conscience, I haue considered of all there States, and can resolue my selfe that I haue not preiudiced the State of any good *Subiect* of yours, but mine owne, in comming to the *Catholike Church*. And first, for your *Lords and Nobles*, it is true, that many of their ancestors were allowed a very good share in the diuision of the Church, when the *Schisme* began, & therefore it concerned them (in reason of State) to maintaine the doctrine of diuision, but I thinke there are very few in England, either *Lords* or other, now possesse of *Abbey lands*, which haue not payed well for them, and might as well possesse them in the vnitie of the Church as in the *Schisme*, and there was a declaration made by the *Pope* to that purpose in *Queene Maries* dayes, so that now there is no neede at all to preach against the merits of good workes, nor the vertue of the *Sacraments*, nor the innocation of *Saints*, nor the rest of *Poperie* that built Churches, vnlesse it bee to helpe the *Hugonotes* of France to pull them downe.

G. H.

G. H.

39.

Having entred into a deepe studie, and serious consideration of *all States*, at length *you resolve* (as from the oracle) that *you have prejudiced none*, in playing the turnecoate, *but your selfe*, and sure I am of the same opinion, there being none, as I hope, so vnwise as to be turned by you. Now in taking this suruey, you begin with *the Lords*, who were allowed a very good share (you would say, a great) in the division of the Church, yet if they will bee so good as to side with the Pope, they shall both enioy their Religion, and keepe their possessions, as now (in this Religion) they doe; so wee see you would iuggle at fast and loose, play at small game rather then sit out, and become all unto all, that you might winne some, though in another sense, then *S. Paul* both meant and practised it. And whereas you would value the matter by *their paying for those possessions*, that shift will not serue the turne for *Queene Mariess* dayes, when the greatest part of them were both vnfold and vn Bought, otherwise then in the first sharing. By your opinion, that *Abbey lands may bee as well possessed in the vnitie of the Church, as in the Schisme*, (as you are pleased to call it) it seemeth you have seene the motiues perswading to a dispensation in that behalfe, collected and reduced into writing in the second yeere of *Queene Mariess* reigne, the originall of which (amongst other authentike remembrances of that time) is preserved in the Office of his *Maiesties* Papers; which, because I verely thinke it was the ground of that *Declaration made by the Pope in Queene Mariess time*, which you speake of, and a principal inducement of the Statute made the same yeere, in confirmation thereof, and for that also I suppose it is not any where publickly to be found, I will here insert.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1554.

Quod omnes qui iusto titulo iuxta leges huius regni pro tempore existentes, habent aliquas possessiones, terras, siue tenementa Monasteriorum, Prioratuum, Episcopatum, Collegiorum, Cantuariorum, Obituum, &c. siue eadem pecunijs suis perquisierunt, siue per donationem, vel per mutationem, siue alio modo legitimo quocunque, in sua possessione huiusmodi remanere possint & valeant, & easdem suas possessiones ratas & confirmatas sibi habere ex confirmatione, & dispensatione Sedis Apostolicæ.

Causæ & rationes quare huiusmodi dispensationes cum honore & conscientia rectè concedi possint.

1. Status Corona huius Regni bene sustineri non potest, ut cum honore regat & gubernet, si huiusmodi possessiones ab illa separentur, quod bodie maxima pars possessionum Corona sit ex huiusmodi terris & possessionibus.

2. Complurimi homines pecunijs suis acquisierunt ingentes huiusmodi terrarum portiones, à serenissimis Regibus Henrico VIII. & Edwardo VI. qui per suas Litteras Patentes, easdem terras

ras warrantizauerunt quibus terris & possessionibus, si possessores huiusmodi nunc priuarentur, Rex teneretur rependere pecunias omnes in hac parte expostas, quæ in tantarum summarum vim & molim sese extenderent, ut à Corona difficillimè restitui possent.

3 Magnates & nobiles huius regni, quorum plerique vendiderunt, & alienauerunt antiquas suas hereditarias possessiones, ut has nouas obtinerent, & in suo statu viuere non possunt, si huiusmodi possessiones ab illis auferantur.

4 Acquisitores vel possessores huiusmodi terrarum & possessionum, propterea quod easdem habuerunt ex iusto titulo, iuxta ordinem Regum huius regni, habebant, & etiamnum habent bonam fidem in illis obtinendis.

5 Possessio huiusmodi terrarum aded est communis cuique statui, & ordini hominum, Ciuitatibusque, Collegiis, & Incorporationibus, ut si ab illis tollantur & auferantur, subitam quandam metamorphosin singulorum statuum & magnam omnis ordinis confusionem in vniuerso regno hinc inde sequi necesse sit.

6 Cum bona, & possessiones Ecclesie ex auctoritate Canonum, pro redemptione captiuorum alienari possint, Idque per illam Ecclesiam solam ad

quam illæ possessiones pertinebant, æquum est dispensari pro continuatione possessionis iam acquisitæ, propter tantum bonum publicæ concordie & Unitatis Ecclesiæ, ac præseruatione istius Status, tam in corpore quam in anima.

THat all such as by iust title according to the Lawes or Statutes of this Realme for the time being, haue any possessions, lands, or tenements lately belonging to Monasteries; Priories, Bishopricks, Colledges, Chanteries, Obites, &c. Whether they haue purchased the for their money, or are come to possesse them by gift, grant, exchange, or by any other legal meanes whatsoeuer, may retaine and keepe the same in their possessions, and haue the same ratified and established vnto them by the confirmation and dispensation of the Sea Apostolike.

*Causes and reasons why such dispensations
may be iustly granted with honour
and conscience.*

1 The state of the Crowne of this kingdome cannot be well susteined to gouerne and rule

rule with honour, if ſuch poſſeſſions be taken from it : for at this day the greateſt part of the poſſeſſions of the Crowne conſiſteth of ſuch lands and poſſeſſions.

2 Very many men haue with their monyes bought and purchaſed great portions of thoſe lands from the moſt Excellent Kings, *Henry* the VIII. and *Edward* the VI. who by their Letters Patents haue warranted the ſame, of which landes and poſſeſſions, if the owners ſhould now be diſpoſſeſſed, the King ſhould be bound to repay vnto them all their money, which would ariſe to ſuch a huge maſſe, that it would be a hard matter for the Crowne to reſtore it.

3 The Nobles and Gentry of this realme, moſt of whom haue ſold and aliened their ancient inheritances, to buy theſe new, cannot liue according to their degrees, if theſe poſſeſſions ſhould be taken from them.

4 The purchaſers or owners of ſuch lands and poſſeſſions, in as much as they came to them by iuſt title, according to the ordinance of the Kings of this kingdome, haue held and doe ſtill hold a good and iuſtifiable courſe in obtaining them.

5 The enioying of such landes and possessions is so common vnto euery State and condition of men; Cities, Colledges, and Incorporations, that if the same bee taken from them; there will necessarily follow thereupon throughout the whole Kingdome a suddaine change and confusion of all Orders and Degrees.

6 Seeing that the goods and possessions of the Church, euen by the authority of the Canons, may bee aliened for the redemption of captiues, and that the same may bee done by that Church onely, to whom such possessions doe belong: It is fit and reasonable that such dispensations should bee granted for continuing of possession already gotten, for so great a good of publike concord and vnity of the Church, and preferuation of this State, as well in body as in soule.

Those possessions indeed in many places (I speake specially of *Tenhs*) which by reason of Popish dispensations were first caried from the Church, are as the flesh which the Eagle stole from the Altar, carying a coale of fire with it, to the burning down and quite consuming of the nests of many of them that held them; and in this respect Mr. Doctor may well say, that *the most part of them who now enioy them, haue payed well for them*; in as much as the first owners were enforced, or their posteritie within a generation or two, to sell that which others purchased. Now this curse of God I can impute to none other thing

thing then to the alienation of *Tenth*s from their proper vse, to which they were, and still should be ordained, or at leastwise the bare and scant allowance which is made to the Minister of the greatest part of the fattest *Impropriations*; so that commonly no Parishes are worse prouided for, then those that pay most; the redresse wherof, if it should please God to put into his *Maiesties* heart, and the assembly of the Estates in parliament, it would bee a worke no doubt honourable in it selfe, acceptable to CHRIST, and beneficiall to his Church, for which he would the rather blesse their other proceedings: I speake not for the restoring of *Impropriations*, (though that were rather to be wished then hoped, their value being little or nothing inferiour to the Benefices) but the making of a cōpetent allowance out of them, for the maintenance of a preaching Minister, and I am sory to heare that some of them should be so backward in the former, who most vrge the later, the rather for that I would not haue it thought our Religion cannot stand, but by the spoyle of the Church liuings, though the Pope (as it seemes by Mr. Doctor) cares not who loseth so that himselfe may winne.

The vertue of the Sacraments expressed in holy Scripture wee preach not against, but as for merit of workes, and innocation of Saints they were preached against, and that in England long before the lands were taken from the Abbeyes; and though they are still preached against, yet with vs are the Saints reuerenced with the honour due vnto them, by our obseruation of the dayes consecrated to the memorials of their glorious and precious deaths: And some Churches are built among vs as occasion serues, and necessitie requires; but more Hospitals, Schooles, almes houses, Colledges, Libraries, and the like charitable workes, since the beginning of Queene Elizabeths reigne to this present time, then in the space of any threescore yeeres successiue taken since the Conquest, which I speake not to boast of the fruits of our Religion, but to giue God the honour; and as for the Hugonotes of France (as you are pleased to terme them) if they bee guilty of pulling downe Churches, wee neither encourage them to it, nor defend them in it, as neither doe wee the Papiſts in their barbarous massacres, but

onely say of them as the parents of the blind man, *they are of sufficient age, let them answer for themselves.*

Lastly, because you addresse your discourse in particular to the Nobles in this Section, I craue leaue to put them in mind of a peece of a letter written by their predecessors to the Bishop of Rome, during the reigne of Henrie the III. I will recite it in the words of *Matthew Parris* translated. [*The great ones* (sayth hee) *by writing to the Pope, complained of the scandals bred out of the rapine and auarice of Rome, and spread not onely in England, but through the Christian world, that themselves would not endure that their countrey from thencefoorth should bee so rudely handled, no though the King himselfe should wink at it, and vnlesse* (say they) *these matters bee speedily redressed by you, let your Holinesse know for certaine, that it may not vniustly bee feared that such a danger is likely thereby to ensue, both to the Church of Rome, and to our Lord the King, that no remedie will easily bee found for it.*] My hope then is, that our Nobles being now farther enlightned by the beames of the Gospell, and the cleare discouery of the trueth in the writings of learned men, then their predecessours, who liued in those times of darkenesse, will, like the Noble *Theophilus*, (to whom *S. Luke* dedicates his Gospell, and *The Actes of the Apostles*) and those noble Bereans, (**who the more noble they were, receiued the word with the greater readinesse**) hold fast the profession which they haue vowed themselves vnto, by resisting the vsurpation and tyranny of that man of sinne; and maintaining the libertie and freedome of their countrey.

Act. 17. 10.

In the first Parliament held by *Queene Mary* after her Comming to the Crowne, the Nobilitie of England, though they gaue way to the administration of the Sacraments, and other doctrinall points, as they were vsed and held in her Father Kings *Henries* time, yet could they hardly be induced, either by her importunitie (whom it most concerned, in regard of her birthright, made good by the Popes dispensation) or by the perswasions of *Cardipall Poole* her Cosin, and by her made Archbishop of Canterbury, who had beene for many yecres maintained, (for the most part) at the Popes charge, to yeeld that

that the *Queene* should ſurrender her title of *Supreme head* of the Church of *England*, or that the *Pope* ſhould bee ſuffered to exerciſe his wonted iuriſdiction within her dominions, how much more then at this time ſhould they plucke vp their ſpirits to the abandoning of that vniuſt challenge, hauing now a *Soueraigne* who in his writings laſt publiſhed to the world bearing the date of this yeere [*Conſecrates his Scepter, his Sword, his pen, his endenours, vnto God, in a thankfull acknowledgment of the grace beſtowed on him, in freeing him from the error of this age, and his kingdome from the Popes yoke which kept it in thraldome, in which God is now ſincerely ſerued, and called vpon in a language underſtood of all, in which the people may read the Scriptures without any ſpeciall priuiledge, and with the ſame freedome, as the people of Epheſus, of Rome, of Corinth, read the Epiſtles written by S. Paul; in which they pay no more tribute by the Polle, thereby to obtaine the remiſſion of there finnes, as they did ſcarce one hundreth yeeres yet paſt, neither are they inforced to ſeek their pardons beyond the Seas, and the mountaines, God himſelfe preſenting them to my Subiects (ſayeth hee) in there owne Countrey, by the doctrine of the Goſpel, and in this regard it bee, that the Cardinall termes the Churches of my Kingdome miſerable, for mine owne part I eſteeme our miſery aboute his happineſſe,] ſince then wee haue (by Gods prouidence) ſuch a *Soueraigne*, let that aſperſion neuer be faſtened vpon our Nobility, which his Maieſty iuſtly caſteth vpon the French, that [in as much as they gaue way to the acknowledging of their King to bee depoſable by the Pope, it were fit that withall they ſhould diueſt themſelues of their titles, and reſigne them to the third eſtate, who were the onely men that could neither bee ſo drawn by promiſes, nor affrighted by threats, but that they neuer helde themſelfe to the maintenance of their Kings honour, and the ſurety of his perſon.*

*1 Defence du
Droit des Rois,
pag. 112. & 113.*

B. C.

40.

*But perhaps the Commons of England, doe gaine ſomuch by the Schiſme, as they cannot abide to heare of unity; Indeed when the
Puritan*

1 Whether your Preachers, or your Friars, and Iesuites abuse the people more with lies in their Sermons let them iudge who haue heard both.

2 For morall and ciuill honestie there were among the ancient Romans and more learned then they.

3 Belike they condemned you for one among the rest, and were not much mistaken.

4 It is well you hold some honest men amongst them. least your selfe

should bee accounted none.

5 The *Romish* Church, for many chiefe points, hath not so much as pretext of Scripture. 6 We might say the like of some of your followers, & more truly, in as much as we beare them record that they haue zeale, but not according to knowledge. 7 What makes you to crie out so against Puritan Preachers, but that most of the people are led by Sermons? 8 I haue said it before, and I will be bold vpon this occasion giuen, to report it againe, not to boast of it, but to praise God for it, that his *Majesties* Dominions afford as many sufficient and learned Preachers, and that in a more substantiall and conforable fashion, then the Popes Hierarchie, and that *London* alone affords more then *Rome* it selfe: and their readinesse to supply Sermons, is not so much out of any good will they beare that exercise, as out of ill will they beare vs.

Puritan Preacher hath called his flocke about him, and described the Church of Rome to bee so ignorant, so Idolatrous, and so wicked, as hee hath made himselfe beleene shee is, then is hee wont to Congratulate his poore deceived audience, that they by the meanes of such good men as himselfe is, are deliuered from the darkenesse and Idolatry, and wickednesse of Popery, and there is no man dare say a word or once mutter to the contrary: But the people haue heard these lyes so long, as most of them beginne to bee wearie, and the wisest of them cannot but wonder how these Puritan Preachers should become more learned and more honest then all the rest that liued in ancient times, or that liue still in Catholike Countreys, or then those in England, whom these men are wont to Condemne for Papists. Neuerthelesse I confesse there bee many honest men and women amongst them, that being carried away with preiudice, or pretext of Scriptures, doe follow these Preachers, more of zeale and deuotion to the Church, as my selfe did, vntill I knew it was but Counterfeite, and these good people if they might be so happy as to heare Catholikes answer for themselves, and tell them the truth, would bee the most deuout Catholikes of all other: But the most of the people were neuer lead by Sermons, if they were the Catholike Church is both able and willing to supply them farre better then the Schisme: but it was an opinion of wealth and liberty made them breake at first, and if they doe duely consider of it, they are neuer the better for either of both, but much the worse.

G. H.

40.

From the Nobles you descend to the Commons, entring your discourse with the like imaginary Sermon of a Puritan Preacher

Preacher, as before you brought vpon the Stage in the 16th Section of this Chapter: you paint him forth describing the *Ignorance, Idolatry, and Wickednesse* of the Church of *Rome*; and surely if this make a *Puritan, Dantes, and Boccace, and Petrarch,* and *Mantuan* must bee *Puritan Poets* too, and *Guicciardin* a *Puritan* historian, and *Sananorola* a *Puritan Preacher* (though all *Italians* and most of them well acquainted with the Court of *Rome*) which is now come (in a manner) to be all one with the Church of *Rome*. The *Ignorance* of the people is such, that they adore it as the mother of deuotion, contenting themselves to belecue as the Church beleueeth: Of their ordinary Priests, that my selfe meeting some of them in the streets, and inquiring the way in *Latin*, they haue replied they vnderstood not my *Dutch*; Of their Friars, that they haue a Company termed the *Fraternitie of Ignorance*: Of their *Bishops* and *Cardinals*, that in the *Tridentine Council* scarce twenty of two hundred durst aduenture to speake publicly, but serued only as cyphers to fill vp the roomes, and make vp the number of voyces: Nay of their *Popes* themselves, that some haue passed their grants with *Fiatur*, instead of *Fiat*, others haue excommunicated them who helde the *Antipodes*, as *Zacharie* at the instance of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, did *Vergilius* the famous Mathematician: And lastly, some haue condemned them for heretikes, who studied the more refined kind of learning, or any way smelt of the vniuersitie, as *Platina* reports it of *Paulus Secundus*, in whose time he liued, and with the description of his life ended his owne.

Touching their *Idolatrie*, when I shall see *Doctor Raynolds* his booke *De Idololatria Romana* soundly and fully answered, I will in my Iudgement free them from that imputation, before then I must take leaue to suspend it.

Lastly, concerning their *wickednesse* I maruell the *Doctor* would giue occasion to rubbe afresh vpon that sore, which if I should thoroughly open would proue so noisome, and vsauory: Now if this make a *Puritan Preacher* to informe his auditory of these corruptions in that Church, and to thanke God for our deliuerance from them, if not in whole, yet by Gods grace

in some good measure, I confesse my selfe to be a *Puritan Preacher*, and thinke no honest minded Minister in England wil refuse that title tendred vnder those conditions: and if the people doe not acknowledge this inestimable blessing with hearty thankfulnessse to God for it, it is to bee feared he will remoue their Candlestick, and in his iudgement suffer them to relapse againe into their former disease.

B. C.

41.

1 So that in Mr. Doctors Logick an honest Protestant may thus be defined: One that can endure the State of England as it is, and could be content it were as it was, that he might receive more benefit.

2 You tel vs before that all false religions in the world are but humane policies, and we as truly returne it vpon you, that this humane policie fauours of a false religion.

For wealth the Puritan unthrif that looks for the overthrow of Bishops and Churches Cathedrall, hopes to haue his share in them if they would fall once, and therefore hee cannot chuse but desire to increase the Schisme, that he may gaine by it: but the honest Protestant that can endure the State of England as it is, could be content it were as it was, for hee should receiue more benefit by it enery way. The poore Gentleman and Yeoman that are burthened with many children, may remember, that in Catholike times the Church would haue receiued, and provided for many of their sonnes and daughters, so as themselves might haue liued and died in the seruice of God without posteritie, and haue helped to maintaine the rest of their families; which was so great a benefit to the Commonwealth, both for the exoneration and prouision thereof, as no humane policie can procure the like. The Farmer and Husbandman (who labourereth to discharge his payments, & hath litle or nothing left at the yeres end to lay up for his children, that increase & grow vpon him) may remember, that in Catholike times there were better penny-worths to bee had, when the Clergie had a great part of the Land in their hands, who had no neede to raise the Rents themselves, and did what they could to make other Lords let at a reasonable rate, which was also an inestimable benefit to the Commons. so that whereas ignorant men carried with enuie against the Clergie, are wont to object the multitude of them, and the greatness of their prouisions, they speake therein as much against themselves as is possible: for the greater the number is of such men, as be

3 mundo

3 mundo mortul, the more is the exoneration of the Commons, and the more the Land is of such as can haue no proprietie in them, the better is the prouision of the Commons; for themselves can haue no more then their food, and their regular apparell, all the rest either remaines in the hands of the Tenants, or returnes in hospitalitie and reliefe to their neighbours, or is kept in a liuing Exchequer for the seruice of the Prince and Countrey in time of necessitie; so that the Commons doe gaine no wealth at all, but rather doe lose much by the Schisme.

3 Many of them though they professed themselves dead to ^{the} world yet were they alive to the flesh.

G. H.

41.

You proceede, and assure the Commons, that our separation from Rome, makes much against their wealth and libertie, for prooofe whereof you beginne with the Puritan vnthrif, who lookes for the ouerthrow of Bishops and Churches Cathedrall, hoping to haue his share in them. Now I denie not, but some such vnthrif there may bee, shrouding themselves vnder the vizard of those whome you call Puritans, but their power is not so great (God bee thanked) as wee neede feare them, nor I hope shall bee whiles his Maies^{tie} and his posterity sway the Scepter, who is so farre from pulling them downe, or giuing any way vnto it, that hee hath not onely to his immortall fame, bound his hands from withdrawing any thing from them, but restored them in Scotland, and both often and openly professed, [No Bishop, no King.] and as for them which looke for that ouerthrow, let their eyes drop out of their sockets, with looking, and the yong rauens deuoure them.

I haue heard of a platforme of our Church gouernment deuised by Parsons, if the Pope should once againe, recouer his footing amongst vs, in which one especiall piece of his project is, the pulling downe of the Bishopricks & Churches Cathedrall, that his Holinesse and the Padres may bee all in all, so that the Iesuites may most properly bee termed those Puritan vnthrifs: And I make no doubt, but if his Holinesse could

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disſeuce with thoſe who withhold the *Tenets* of the Church, he might as well diſſeuce with the pulling downe of *Biſhopricks* and *Cathedrall Churches*.

Now for thoſe honeſt *Proteſtants*, who for matter of religion could be content it were as it was, conditionally themſelves might receiue more benefit, their heads may bee in *England*, but lure their hearts are in *Rome*, deceiuing themſelves aſwell in vnder- valewing the benefit they haue, as in expecting that they haue not, nor are euer like to haue; the faire pretexts and promiſes made them from *Rome*, being like the *Apothecaries* boxes, hauing *Catholicon* ſet on their front in capitall letters, as if they contained a ſoueraigne medicine for all diſeaſes, but within are full of deadly poiſon; or like the apples of *Sodome*, which are to looke to, beautifull, bu: being touched onely with the finger, preſently are turned into duſt.

The firſt apple you preſent the *Commons*, if they yeeld to the reentertaining of *Popiſh* religion, is increaſe of wealth: But before we goe any farther in the triall of this point, I ſhall deſire all ingenuous *Papiſts*, rightly to informe both themſelves, and others, what the two Monkes *Matthew Paris*, and *Matthew of Weſtmiſter* haue left vpon record, touching the *Biſhop* of *Romes* moſt intolerable exactions in this kingdome, whiles his authority here preuailed; and then to iudge indifferently whether by ſubmitting our neckes to that yoke, which our fathers were not able to beare, it be likely the wealth of our land ſhould be increaſed. That which one of the *Popes* pronounced touching our Countrey, was doubtleſſe the opinion of them all, I ſpeake of latter times, [*Verè hortus noſter deliciarum eſt Anglia, verè puteus inexhauſtus eſt, & ubi multa abundant, de multis multa poſſunt extorqueri* England is our *Paradiſe* of pleaſure, a well neuer to bee drawne drie, and where much abounds, much may be taken.] It was the ſpeech of *Innocent* the IV. reported by *Matthew Paris*, anno 1245. about which time *S. Edmond* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* vndertooke a voyage to *Rome*, to complaine of the great vexations and extortions, offered the Clergie and people, by Cardinall *Otho* his Legate, who hiding himſelfe in the tower of *Ousne Abbey*, for feare of a tumult of the Schollers

Schollers of *Oxford*, they termed him *Vsurer*, *Simonist*, rent-racker, money-thirster, peruerter of the King, subuerter of the kingdome, enriching strangers with the spoiles of the English; but *Edmund* returning home without successe in his complaint, and weary of his life in *England*, by reason that hee could not redresse the *Popes* oppressions, made choise of a voluntary banishment at *Pountney* in *France*, where hee died with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

Not long after, his Holinesse desirous to see *England*, caused his *Cardinals* to write their letters to the King, that it would be a thing tending much to his honour and safety, and to his kingdomes immortall glory, to enioy the Lord *Popes* presence, who did long to view the rarities of *Westminster*, and the riches of *London*, but the Kings Counsell told him plainly [that the *Romane rapines and simonies* had enough stained the *English puritie*, though the *Pope* himselfe came not personally to spoile and prey upon the wealth of this Church and kingdome.] the like deniall of entrance hee had found both in *France* and *Arragon*, it being said that [the *Pope* was like a mouse in a sackell, or a snake in ones bosome, who but ill repay their hosts for their lodging; and the infamies of his Court deserued none other, whose filth saith our Monke [sent forth a steame and stench, as high as the very cloudes.]

These and worse were the effects of the Bishop of *Romes* usurpation here in *England*, by imposing continuall taxes and tallages, being sometimes the tenth, sometimes the fiftieth, sometimes the third, sometimes the moiety of all the goods, both of the Clergie and Laity, vnder colour of maintaining the *Popes* holy warres against the Emperour, and the Greeke Church, who were then said to bee in rebellion against their Lady and Mistresse the Church of *Rome*: Besides for the speedy leuying and safe returne of these moneyes, the *Pope* had his *Lumbarde*, and other *Italian Bankers* and vsurers resident in *London*, and other parts of the Realme, who offered to lend and disburse the moneyes taxed, and returne the same by exchange to *Rome*, taking such penall bands (the forme wherof is set downe in *Matthew Paris*) and such excessiue vsury, as

the poore religious houses were faine to sell or pawne their Chalice, and Copes, and therest of the Clergy and Laity had their backes bowed, and their estates broken vnder the burden: besides the Pope tooke for perquisites and casualties, the goods of all Clerkes that died intestate, the goods of all vsurers, and all goods giuen to charitable vses. Moreouer he had a swarme of Friers (the first corrupters of religion in England) who perswaded the Nobility and Gentry to put on the signe of the Crosse, and to vow themselues to the holy warres, which they had no sooner done, but they were againe perswaded to receiue dispensations of their vowes, and to giue money for the same to the Church of Rome. I omit diuers other policies then vsed by the Popes Collectours, to exhaust the wealth of the Realme, which they affirmed they might take with as good a conscience, as the Hebrewes tooke the iewels of the Egyptians, and should we now looke for better measure at his handes? no, no, he will rather bee ready to demand the principall with the interest and arrerages, and to bring vs so low as wee shall neuer be able to cast him againe. Those verses will euer bee true, though made for those times, and sutable to their barbarisme.

Roma capit marcas, bursas exhaurit & arcas,

Vt tibi in parcas, fuge Papas & Patriarchas.

It is obseruable which one hath wittily noted, that the first letters of the words in that sentence, *Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia*, make vp ROMA: And I could wish that for the better satisfaction of the Commons, to whom this section is directed, so much of *Matthew Paris* as concerns this businesse, might be translated into English; he wrote of the times wherein he liued, and was for his learned paines much honoured by the king, being admitted often to his table and chamber.

Now, as Mr. Doctours cunning may be obserued, in setting downe the benefits that arise by Monasteries, and concealing the Popes extortions, so his forgetfulnesse, in that before hee cuts off the meanes of the Monasteries, by assuring vs of the Popes inclination to dispence with those, in whose hands their reuenues rest; so that this argument of *increase of wealth*, or

main-

maintenance to the Commons can be of no force, till the owners of those reuenues be either forced by lawe, or perswaded by reason to restore them; or others to conferre new, which in reason will be found more difficult then the former: beside this argument, if it make for the *poore Gentleman and Teoman*, it makes against the rich Gentleman and Nobleman, whose landes specially went to the building and maintaining of those houses: yet the *poore Gentleman and Teoman* too, may remember that whiles the monasteries stood, they were not so much eased by them of the burden of their children, as burthened with the keeping of Concubines for the Monkes and Abbots vse, or else their wiues serued the turne; so that whereas they were eased of one child by the Monastery, they were oftener burdoned with two or three from the Monasterie, and for their daughters, as by vailing them, and thrusting them into a Nunnery, they disburdened their hands of them, so by the same meanes were they often burdened to the shame and griefe of their Parents, and dishonour of their profession; and yet such bribes and pensions were there payed for their admission, as many times they might haue maintained them at home with lesse charge and more honesty, or if their daughters escaped free, their sonnes (which was worse) supplied their sisters roomes, against which grieuous sinne, an acte was made in the reigne of *Henry* the first, but *Anselme* then Archbishop of *Canterbury* stopped the publication of it, so that both for lacke of mariage, it more increased, and for lacke of publication was it lesse punished.

*Remains Cestr.
lib. 7.*

Now for the Common wealth, as their *exoneration* might bring some benefit vnto it, so their exemption from the secular courts of iustice, from the iurisdiction of Bishops, and from all maner of publique seruice in defence of the State, aswell in regard of their goods as their persons, could not be but exceeding preiudiciall: for by that meanes it must needs in time haue come to passe, that the richest and fattest, nay greatest part of the land, resting in their hand, the rest of the body politique must haue starued, but onely by their charity (which many times was but cold toward the laitie) or the whole haue lyen

lyen open and obnoxious to the inuasion of the forraine enemy, but onely by their helpe, which was not alway very ready.

Let the Farmer and Husband man remember, that, as better penny-worthes were to bee had in those dayes, so his vexations by Excommunications, Interdictions, and Appeals to Rome were more insufferable, his restraints from labour, whereby he maintained himselfe and his poore familie by meanes of many blind holy dayes, now stricken out of the Calender, more frequent; and lastly his payments greater for Peterpence, for Iubilees, for oblations, for dispensations, for obits, for touching of reliques, for *Agnus-dei*, for hallowing of beads and graines, for holy water, for masses, for trentals, for dirges, for pardons, for indulgences, for crusadoes, and a thousand such petty charges, seruing onely as fewell, as well to maintaine the luxury of Monkes and Friars, as to keepe in the fire of Purgatory, which if it were not by the people conceiued to bee very hore, that in the Popes and Monkes kitchin would quickly bee very colde: But to come neere to the point, as better penny-worthes, so in those times lesse money was also to bee had, all things being cheaper where is lesse money, and dearer where is more, so that if the same Monasteries had stood and the same Abbots had liued in our dayes, I doubt not but they would haue raised there rents, as our Collegiate Societies haue beene inforced to doe, or else they must haue pared away somewhat of the superfluitie of their dishes, which would haue troubled their consciences more; as well appeared by them who made a lamentable complaint to the King for want of meate, when three dishes of thircene were withdrawn, and of him who hauing his bellie full stuffed with eating after a great feast, cried out [*Quanta patimur pro amore CHRISTI*] And sure it is to me a wonder that those who both can and often will tell the most merrie iests of Monkes, and Nunnes, and Friars, yet they of all others most earnestly desire the restitution of them.

¶ Lastly the Commons cannot but remember, that though they were somewhat holpen by the rich Abbeyes, yet were they as much burthened with the poore Fricries, who had nothing

thing to helpe them but the deuotion of the people, it being commonly layed of their affliting at Funerals, *Ubi cadaver, ibi cornus*. But they were all (you say) *Mundo moriui*, vising it more but for their food and regular apparrel, and turning the residue to pious, or charitable, or publike vset; but if it were so, how came it to passe that many times they enriched and aduanced there families as much as any Lay man, nay which is worse, vsually they spent the residue vpon their gaming and luxurie, and their lining Exchequer was rather for the seruice of the Pope and Court of Rome, then of their Prince and Countrey, so that the multitude of such Clergy men and the greatnesse of their provision may well bee objected by wise men without enuie, as it was by the Venetians in the last quarrell betweene them and the Pope, if their goods and persons be still (as they haue beene hitherto) exempt from Secular iurisdiction and publike seruice of the state, for the preuention of which mischiefe, was the statute of Mortmaine for the lessening of these *mundomoriui*, made by Edward the first, and confirmed by all his successours, so that vpon due and trew examination, the Commons are found to loose nothing, but rather gaine much by the reformation of the Church, and separation from Rome, and if they did not, yet were it a poore bargaine for a man to winne the whole world and loose his owne soule.

B. C.

42.

And as for liberty they are indeed freed from the possibilitie of going to shrift, that is of confessing their sinnes to God in the eare of a Catholike Priest, and receiuing comfort and counsell against their sinnes from God by the mouth of the same priest, which duty is required of Catholike people, but onely once in the yeere, but performed by them with great comfort and edification very often, so that a man may see and wonder to see, many hundred at one altar to Communicate enery Sunday with great deuotion, and lightly no day passe but diuers do cofesse, are absolved, and receiue the blessed Sacrament.

1 Indeede by the forme of words yet extant in the masse booke and vied by the Priest, it is supposed that a number should Communicate daily with him but it iseldome is so.

L I

The

2 If wee had no use of confessions, yet might and ought inferior s be kept in awe of hell fire by their Preachers, and superiours be tolde of their errorrs in state by their Counsellors, but you seeme to assure his Maiesie that if hee will not be told of his errorrs in confession, he shall in rebellion.

The poore commons in England are freed from this Comfort, neither is it possible; vnesse their Ministers had the seale of secrecie, for them to vse it; and what is the liberty that they haue in stead thereof? Surely the seruants haue great liberty against their masters by this meanes, and the children against their parents and the people against their prelates, and the subiects against their King, and all against the Church of Christ, that is, against their owne good and the common saluation; for without the vse of this Sacrament, neither can inferiours bee kept in awe, but by the gallows, which will not save them from hell, nor superiours bee euer tolde of their errorrs, but by rebellion which will not bring them to heauen: These and such like bee the liberties that both Prince and people doe enioy by the want of confession and of Catholike religion.

G. H.

42.

* 2. Cor. 5. 18.

We willingly acknowledge (with S. Paul) that *to the Ministers of the Gospel is committed the Ministerie of reconciliation, and the keys of the Kingdome of heauen, to open and shut as they see cause: and therfore in their ordination hath our Church ordained the Bishop to vse these wordes, [*Receiue the holy Ghost, whose sinnes thou doest forgive they are forgiven, and whose sinnes thou doest retaine they are retained.*] & consequently if the power of absolution be giuen in these words, then is it giuen & receiued in the Church of England: and as for the people they stand bound as often as they meeete in their solemne assemblies, to a publique and generall confession, howbeit they are indeed freed from the necessitie of that which wee call *auricular*, though not from the *possibilitie*, as you falsely pretend, for as we inforce none if they come not, (as knowing that force may worke vpon the body but neuer vpon the will) so we exclude none if they come with a true penitent heart, or out of the Scruple of conscience, either to seeke Counsell, being ignorant of the qualitie and quantitie of their sinne; or comfort against

gainst despayre for sinne knowen and acknowledged: In this case the only imparting of a mans mind to a trusty Friend, like the opening of a feastered sore, cannot but bring content to a soule so anguished and perplexed: but much more if the vicer be disclosed to a skilfull and faithfull Pastour of the soule, who is no lesse able then willing, aswell to vnderstand the nature of the disease, as by warrant of diuine ordinance to apply the remedie: and sure I see not but, the Minister standing in the place of God, as his ambassadour, and pronouncing absolution vpon humble and hartly repentance as from God, it should prooue a marueilous great ease and settlement to a poore distracted and distressed conscience; in which regard our Church hath well ordayned in one of the exhortations before the Communion, that [if any of the Congregation bee troubled with the burden of sinne, so that he cannot quiet his conscience, but requireth further comfort and counsell, that he repayre either to the Pastour of his owne Parish, or some other discreet and learned Minister of the word, and open his griefe, that hee may receiue such Ghostly counsell, aduice and comfort, as his conscience may be releiued, and that by the Ministerie of Gods word he may receiue comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience and auoiding of all scruple and doubtfulnesse,] and in *the visitation of the sicke*, [if he feele his conscience troubled with any waighy matter, hee is willed to make a speciall confession, and the Minister thereupon to absolue him, In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost,] which is an absolution onely Declaratorie, Conditionall, and Ministeriall: but the Church of Rome not content herewith, challengeth to her selfe herein a power iudicial, which is in truth indiuidually annexed to the person and office of him, who is Iudge both of quicke and dead.

This I take to bee the doctrine of the Church of England and the Primitiue writers touching this point, and I cannot but wonder that Mr. Doctor, so long a Church man of such eminent place amongst vs, should be so ignorant thereof, as to affirme that *the people with vs are freed from the possibilitie of*

2 Epist. ad Front
Pag. 129.

confessing themselves, whereas M^r. Casaubon a stranger in comparison, could inform him, that the rigorous necessity of Confession injoyed and practised in the Church of Rome, the Church of England thought fit, upon just reason to moderate and qualify; but for the thing it selfe shee neuer did wholly annull it, nor now doth simply condemne it.

And for the practise of it in forreine countreys (which M^r. Doctour so much boasteth of) wee are not all such strangers in those parts, but some others haue as well beene acquainted with their great deuotion in their ordinary confessing and communicating, as M^r. Doctour, it being rightly obserued by a worthy gentleman, who confesseth that hee brought with him into those parts this perwasion, that surely in this there must needs bee a very great restraint to wickednesse, a great meanes to bring men to integrity and perfection, when a man shall often suruey his actions, with diligence censure them, with griefe and shame confesse them, with punishment expiate and extinguish them, (with firme intent neuer to returne to the like againe) whatsoeuer had defiled or stained the soule; notwithstanding (saith he) hauing searched into the meaning thereof in those parts, I finde that as all things whereof humane weakenesse hath the custody and government, fall away, decaying by insensible degrees from their first perfection and purity, and gather much soile and drosse in vsing, so this as much as any thing; for this point of their religion which in outward shew carrieth a face of severity and discipline, is become of all others the most remisse and pleasant, and of the greatest content to the dissolute minds, the matter being growen with the common sort to this open reckoning; what neede wee refraine so fearefully from sinne, God hauing provided so ready a meanes to be rid of it, when we list? yea and the worser sort will say, when we haue sinned we must confesse, and when we haue confessed, we must sinne again, that we may also confesse again, and withal make worke for new Indulgences, and lubilies, making account of Confession as drunkards doe of vomiting, who drinke till they vomite,

mite, and vomite that they may drinke againe : yea, I haue knowen of those that caried shew of very deuout persons, who by their owne report, to excuse their acquaintance in matters criminall, haue wilfully periuured themselves in iudgement, onely presuming of this present and easie remedie in Confession; and others of more ordinary note amongst them, when the time of confessing was at hand, would then venture vpon those actions which before they trembled at, as presuming to surfet and surcharge their stomacks by reason of the neighbourhood of the phisitian, which phisitian also himselfe is perhaps more apparently infected with the noysome disease his patient discloseth, then the patient, who is not any way bettered by the counsell which the Phisitian giueth : but this must be granted to bee the fault of the people, yet a generall fault it is, and current without controllement, howbeit the Priests are no more excusable on their parts, then the people, telling the penitent that God is mercifull, and whatsoever finnes he committeth, so long as hee doth penance, and is no Lutherane, there is good remedie for him, and for their penance, it consisteth ordinarily but in *Aue Marias* and *Pater nosters*, with Almes deedes, by those that are able, and fastings by them that are willing; yea, I haue knowen when the penance for horrible and open blasphemy, besides much other lewdnesse, hath bene none other then saying of their Beades thriceouer, a matter of some houres muttering, and which in *Italy* they dispatch also as they goe in the streets, or ride on the way, or doe their busines at home, making none other of it, then as it is indeed, two lips and one fingers worke; but were the penance by the Priests iniointed, neuer so hard and sharpe, the *Popes plenary pardons* sweepe all away at a blow.

Now whether *seruants* be not with them vnfaithfull to their masters, children disobedient to their parents, people vndutifull to their Prelates, *Subiects* disloyall to their *Soueraignes*, as well as with vs, I leaue it to them to iudge, who haue had experience of both. Did not *Clement* and *Rauillac*, and the *Powder-traytors* vse Confession? and those villaines who assaulted the

Prince of *Anrange*, the one sorely wounding, & the other murdering him? and did not their confessions serue to harden them in their damnable resolutions?

Lastly, for the *scale of Confession*, without which (you say) it is impossible to use the thing it selfe, wee hold it being rightly limited, a lawfull, yet an humane constitution, as neither in trueth is particular confession it selfe to men any other; and he that will not forbear in conscience and common honesty to disclose a secret reuealed in such manner, will hardly forbear for feare of punishment; and sure I am of opinion, better no *scale* to at all, then such a concealement imposed, as is by the factours of the *Remish* Church maintained, and was not onely preached by *Garnet*, but in him commended by *Eudemon* and *Bellarmino*, and in others by his example, bee the issue thereof neuer so deuilish, or toward the king and kingdome neuer so dangerous: and although it be true (as his ³ *Maiesty* truly obserueth) that [when the Schoolemen came to bee Doctours in the Church, and to marre the old grounds in Diuinity, by sowing in amongst them their Philosophicall distinctions, though they I say maintained, that whatsoener thing is tolde a Confessour under the vaile of Confession, how dangerous soener the matter bee, yet is hee bound to conceale the parties name; yet doe none of them (specially of the old⁴ Schoolemen) deny that if a matter be reuealed vnto them, the concealing whereof may breede a great and publike danger, but that in that case the confessour may disclose the matter, though not the person, and by some indirect meanes make it come to light, that the danger thereof may be preuented: But no treason or deuilish plot, though it should tend to the ruine or exterminion of a kingdome, (I use his Maiesties owne word) must be reuealed, if it be told vnder Confession, no not the matter so farre indirectly disclosed, as may giue occasion for preuenting the danger thereof, though it agree with the conceit of some 3. or 4. new Iesuited Doctors, yet is it such a new and dangerous head of doctrine, as no king or State can liue in security where that position is maintained.] And here it shall not be amisse to remember that vntoward answer which *Binet* the Iesuit shaped to ⁵ *Casaubon* in the kings library in *Paris*, two or three moneths before the death of *Henry* the great, as they talked

3 Premon, 125

4 See nouell doct. in the ende of the Premon. the 3.

5 Epist. ad From.
p. 140.

ked of Garnets execution, which the Iesuit termed martyrdom [It were better (quoth he) that all kings should perish, then that the seale of confession should once be broken up.] adding withal this reason, that [the government of kings was but an humane constitution, whereas confession was a diuine ordinance:] which when I heard, saith Casanbon, *Obstupui steteruntq. coma, & vox faucibus haesit.* But afterwards reading the bookes written by men of the same met-tall and societie, and perceiuing hee had said nothing which they taught not in effect, though not in the same wordes, I left wondering (sayeth hee) and censured mine owne folly. Notwithstanding all this the same M^r. Casanbon confesseth, and not onely for himselfe but for vs, speaking in the plurall number in the Page immediatly going before, that it was [an ancient decree of the Church, full of pietie and wise dome, that it should not bee lawfull to the Confessor, to publish that which he heard in confession, but none (saith hee) of those holy Fathers, euer decreed that constitution of Ecclesiasticall discipline, with such strictnesse, as thereby to make the Law of God of none effect: They knew well enough that if the case so stood, as the Law of the Church enioyned silence, and the law of God viterance, wee should rather obey God, then man: They knew well enough that Dauid is commended of the Sonne of God, to whom properly belongs the interpretation of the lawe, himselfe being the author of it, for the eating of the Shew-bread, which otherwise was not lawfull, saith Christ, for him to eate, rather then hee would suffer himselfe to starue with hunger.] To like effect is that which my Lord of Ely hath in his last booke against Bel-larmine, [6 Let that reuerence which is due to that seale, be preferred inuiolate, but towards penitents, not wilfull proceeders in their mischieuous plots, neither is that (saith hee) the seale of God and CHRIST, but of Satan and Antichrist, with which so horrible vil-lanies are masked. But will M^r. Doctour say these are but the o-pinions of priuate men? I demaund the authority of your Church, for the seale of secrecie: but if he had bin as skilful in the decrees & Canons of our Church, as he would beare vs in hand he was, he would surely haue forborne that demaund, the 113. Can. of those which were agreed vpon in Conuocation, anno 1603. & ratified by his Maiesties royal assent, concluding thus:

[Proni-

7 That is, they do not binde him to present the party confessing, as appears both in the body, and title of the Canon.

[Provided alwayes, that if any man confesse his secret & hidden sin to the Minister for the unburthening of his conscience, and to receive spirituall consolation and ease of mind from him, wee do: not any way⁷ binde the said Minister by this our Constitution, but doe straightly charge and admonish him that he do not at any time reveale, and make known to any person whatsoever, any crime or offence so committed to his trust & secretie, except they be such crimes as by the Lawes of this Realme, his owne life may be called into question, for concealing them, under paine of irregularitie.] So that neither is Mr. Doctors Assertion true, that the people with vs are freed from the possibility of Confessing, though they are from the necessitie, nor his reason, because wee have taken away the seale of secretie, the abuse being onely by vs remoucd, but the vse as well by publike authoritie as priuate opinions retained, and maintained: But to conclude this point, the libertie which the people have gained by separation from Rome, stands not so much in forbearance of Confession rightly vfed, as in that libertie wherewith CHRIST hath made them free, (*for if the some have made them free, then are they free indeed) if they intangle not themselves againe with the yoke of bondage: & my counsell is that which the Apostle there aduifeth, Stand fast, and to like effect, though in another place and case, Art thou free? seeke not to bee bound: and, as many as walke according to this rule, peace shall bee vpon them, and mercie, and vpon the Israel of God.

* Gal. 5. 1.

B. C.

43.

1 If in those middle times when all things ranne in a current course, there were not so many Statutes made in Church matters, it must be imputed rather to the want of occasion, then of power, the plantation or reformation of the Church, chiefly giuing occasion to the making of lawes in Church matters.

2 When the name of a Parliament began in England, is vncertaine: See my L. Coke in his Preface to the ninth part of his reports.

As for the libertie of making Lawes in Church-matters the common Lawyer may perhaps make an aduantage of it, and therefore greatly stand vpon it, but to the Common people it is no pleasure at all, but rather a great burden, for the great multitude of Statutes (which haue been made since the Schisme, which are more then fise times so many that euer were made before, since the 2 name of

Parliament

Parliament was in England) hath caused also an infinite number of Lawyers, all which must live by the Commons, and raise new families, which cannot be done without the decay of the old, and if the Canon of the Church, and Courts of Confession, were in request, the Lawyers market would soone be marred; and therefore most of your Lawyers in this point are Puritans, and doe still furnish the Parliament with grievances against the Clergie, as knowing very well that their owne glory came at the first from the Court & Infidel, and therefore cannot stand with the authoritie of the Church, which came at the first from the Court Christian: I speake not against the ancient lawes of England, which since King Ethelberts time were all ⁵ Catholike, nor against the honest Lawyers of England: I know many, and honour all good men among them, and doe looke for ⁶ better times by the learning, wisdom, and moderation of the chiefeest: But I am verely perswaded that the pretended liberties of the Commons to make Lawes in matter of Religion doth burden the Common-wealth, and doth trouble and preiudice your Maiestie, and pleasure none at all but the Puritan, and petti-fogging Lawyer, that would faine fetch the antiquity of his Common Law, from the Saxons that were before King Ethelbert: So that whether wee respect the spirituall instruction and comfort, or the temporall wealth and libertie of the Commons of England, if the Puritan Preacher, and the Puritan Lawyer, who both seeke the overthrow of the Church, and deceine and consume the people, would let them alone, there would quickly appeare no reason of their state at all: why they should hate the Catholike Church that is so comfortable and beneficiall unto them, or maintaine the Schisme, that with sugred speeches, and counterfeited faces, doth so much abuse them.

³ I take the raising of new houses to be no hinderance to the Common-wealth the Lawyers themselves being a part of the Commons.

⁴ As if the Ciuill Law came not from the Roman Infidels, which notwithstanding stand well enough with the authoritie of the Ecclesiasticall Courts.

⁵ What you call Catholike I know not, but sure I am, that since King Eth. time many Statutes haue been made for the restraining of the Bishop of Romes vniuersall usurpation, neither doe I finde that hee entered any thing in the lawes of the kingdome, saue onely by commanding them to be turned into his mother tongue.

⁶ If by better times you

meane the restitution of the Romish Religion, or the recōciliation of our Church to Rome, you had certainly very little reason to expect them from the learning, wisdom, and moderation of those that are now the chiefeest in that profession, the chiefeest of all, hauing both frequently and fully declared himselfe to the contrary, and iustified for it by the slanderous tongues and penne of malicious Romanists, and namely, *Eudamon and Parsons*.

G. H.

4.

The next priuiledge which you pretend to the Commons,

Mm

is

is the liberty of making Lawes in Church-matters, as if they could make lawes without the consent of the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, or they all without the royall assent of his Maiesstie; and for the multitude of Statutes, which you speake of, the multitude of erroneous opinions, & deuillish practises from Rome, haue caused a great part of them, and the malice both of the deuill (as knowing his time to be but short) and of men in this last and worst age of the world generally increasing, must needs giue occasion to more lawes: Hee that shall looke into the bodie of the ciuill law, may find that those lawes multiplied faster from Constantines time, to the end of Iustiniens, which was about 200. yeere, then in foure (nay in fise) hundred yeeres before, though the one were vnder a Christian gouernement, and the other vnder an heathenish, who tooke their beginnings, as wee knowe, onely from the lawes of the twelue tables, which were brought out of Greece. Did not God himselfe, besides those twelue precepts (grounded vpon the law of nature) adde many lawes therunto for the gouernement of his Church? and that which hee did by the Ministry of Moses, vnto that speciall people, the same power hath hee left to the gouernours of particular Churches, conditionally all their lawes bee conformable, or at leastwise not repugnant vnto his law, the rule and square of all humane lawes: how hath the Canon law it selfe (to which Mr. Doctors drift is wholly to resubmit vs in Church gouernement) growen vp to a great bulke and massie bodie? and how hath their multitude intangled the Christian world? yet must no man dare open his mouth to complaine of that. We reade of Luther, that when he heard his books by publike order were burnt in Rome, he as solemnely burnt the Canon law at Wittenberge: We haue not proceeded, neither thinke wee it fit to proceed so farre, but haue rather chosen out of that dunghill to seeke for a pearle, which hauing found, we are content to keepe, and as occasion serues to make vse of: We haue not wholly abrogated the Canon law, but wee retaine it in part, though not as receiuing strength from the Popes authoritie, (who for any thing I know, hath no more right of making lawes for vs, then wee haue for him) but from

from the governours of our owne Church: Neither did the Kings of *France* in the erection of their Vniuersities receiue it any otherwise, then to vse at their own discretio, not to oblige them as a *law*, or if it did, the power of it was deriued from their owne approbation, not from *Romes* imposition; and therefore haue they expressly, and by name forbidden the 26th. Booke of the *Decretals* to bee read in their Vniuersities, as *lawe*, as being expressly against the *lawes* and liberties of the *Gallican Church*.

¹ Bod. in lib. 1.
de re pub. cap. 8.

² See Monsieur
Serranus, the Kings
Attourney generals
speech in the
end of the reform-
ation of the
Vniuersitie of
Paris.

Now if they refuse one part, they might (in my iudgement) by the same reason { if they found it inconuenient or disagreeable } reiect the whole, and I thinke they would not stand much, if occasion serued vpon the casting off of the *Canon lawe*, who could by no meanes yet bee induced to the receiuing of the Canons of the Council of *Trent*. A notable instance hereof wee haue, euen in the depth of *Poperie*, in our owne Countrey: At the Parliament of *Merton*, it was proposed, that children borne before marriage, might bee adiudged legitimate, according to the rule and practise of the *Canon law*: They all made answer with one voice, *Nolumus Leges Anglia mutari*, we will not yeeld to the change of the *lawes* of *England*, by which it appeares that they receiued not in those very times all the *Popes* Canons as *lawes*, and those which they receiued, they had not the force of *lawes*, because the *Pope* imposed the, but because themselues entertained them in that nature, and to that purpose ratified them. Mr. Doctor need not marueile then if our *Parliament* now make *lawes* to the same purpose; and by the same authority, as they ratified those: The Summons of *Parliament* euer since the time of King *Henry* the V. (and how long before I know not) haue in one constant forme and tenour made mention, that the *Parliament* is summoned to consult [*de negotijs statum, & defensionem Regni Anglia, & Ecclesie Anglicanae contingentibus*, of busineses concerning the State and defence of the Realme, and Church of *England*.] Among other Kings *S. Edward* begins his *lawes* with this protestation that it was his Princely care, [*Vt populum Dei, & super omnia, Sanctam Ecclesiam, regat & gubernet*, To rule and go-

³ *Speculum*
Just. anno 712.

⁴ *Statute. 21.*
Rich. 2 cap. 11.

uerne Gods people, and aboue all the Church of God] And before him ³ *Ina*, *king of the West Saxons*, professeth, that hee called a Councill of his Bishops and Senators, that they might consult of matters, [*De salute animarum, & Statu regni*: touching the saluation of their soules, and the State of the kingdome:] And therefore doeth our chiefe Antiquarie rightly distinguish our Courts into Ecclesiasticall, Ciuill, and mixt, which hee makes the Parliament, as beeing compounded of both, and consequently capable to determine of matters of both natures, though I must needs say, the case is somewhat altered from former times, when not onely the Arch-bishops, the Bishops, the Abbots, and Priors (whose number was double to that which now it is, and litle inferiour to the Temporall Lords) sate in the higher House of Parliament, and had concluding voices, but the bodie of the Clergie, and Cathedral Churches, had their Proctours amongst the Commons, as may be collected by diuers of our ⁴ Statutes in print: but now that the number of the Lords Spirituall in the higher House, is lessened, and the others are cleane excluded the lower House, mee thinkes it should stand with reason and equitie, that the *libertie of making of lawes or Canons in Church-matters*, should bee referred and reserued (by his *Maesties* gracious fauour, and with his Royall assent) to Church-men, assembled in their *Conuocation*, who are presumed to be most able and willing to establish good and wholesome Constitutions, and to reforme what is amisse. Thus in the yeere 1603, at his *Maesties* first entrance into this kingdome, by vertue of his Prerogatiue Royall, and Supream authority in causes Ecclesiasticall, did hee graunt licence and free power vnto them, to treat and agree vpon such Ordinances, as they should thinke necessary and conuenient for the honour and seruice of Almighty God, and the good and quiet of the Church, and afterward being by them agreed vpon, and thoroughly considered by his *Maestie*, out of his princely inclination, to maintaine the present estate and gouernment of the Church of *England*, hee not onely confirmed them by his Royall Assent, but by the same authoritie commaunded

ded the entertainment and execution of them through the Realme.

Another matter you sling at, is the *multitude of Lawyers at this day*, as if they were exceedingly increased, but if you had read, and well obserued *Foretescues* obseruation in this behalfe, who wrote about 200. yeeres since, being then Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and had compared this time to that, you would haue found, that the number of that Profession in those dayes, was litle lesse then at this day: certainly their colledges were then more then now: His words are [*Sunt namq; in eo decem hospitia minora, et quandoque verò plura, quæ nominantur hospitia Cancellaria, ad quorum quodlibet pertinent centum studentes ad minus, et ad aliqua eorum maior in multo numerus, licet non omnes in eis semper conueniant: Maiorū quatuor sunt, & ad minimū eorum pertinent in forma prænata ducenti studentes, aut propè.* They haue ten lesser houses, which they call Innes of Chancerie, to euery of which belong one hundred students at least, and to some many more, though they be not all continually resident in them: of the bigger houses, they haue foure, and to each of them in like manner belong two hundred students, or thereabout]. Whereas at this present in some of the Innes of Court, there are not 260. and in the greatest litle about 300. in commons at one time; and for the Innes of Chancerie they are but eight in number, and in most of them not about 50. in commons together: But if they are increased it may well be imputed, not so much to our *multitude of statutes*, as to our long peace, the nurse of homebred quarrels, or to the dissolution of our Monestaries, and that as I conceiue for foure reasons, First for that whereas in those dayes when the Monasteries stood, many younger brothers did betake themselves to Monasticall liues, they doe now apply themselves to the study of the Law, Secondly for that the possessions of the Monasteries being then in *Mortmaine* could not be aliened, whereas now being in the hands of Lay-men, they are daily bought and solde, which setteth the Lawyer doubly aworke: first in drawing conueyances for them, and then in alteration about them: Thirdly the

5. Comment.
cap. 49.

Abbots and Priors foreseeing their ruine, Set many leases vnder hand, which could not but breed a great intanglement in their possessions: Fourthly, and lastly, the dispersing of them into the hands of so many particular men, resting before in the possessions of Corporations, cannot but proue the cause of much strife, and consequently of many suites and controuersies; no marueile then if by our increase of people (other trades and professions increasing) Lawyers should doe the like.

But if the Canons of the Church and the Courts of Confession, were (you say) in request, the Lawyers market would soone bee marred, what say you then to those Countreys, where both these are in request, and yet doe their Lawyers both encrease and flourish more then ours? And when both these were in request among vs, their number (as I shewed before) was little lesse, if not as great, or more then now it is, if I vnderstand the words of that reuerend Iudge aright. And if most of our Lawyers bee in this point Puritans, that is in refusing the rescripts of the Popes, as the Canons of the Church, and your *seale of Confession* as a diuine ordinance, for my part I blame them not; but for the Canons of our owne Church, collected by *William Linwood* in the reigne of *King Henry the 5th*. and afterwards by 32. selected persons, Bishops, inferiour Diuines, and Canonists, deputed to that worke by *King Henry the eight*, & after his death by his Sonne *King Edward the sixth*, as also our present Canons now in force, I haue knowen some of our Lawyers much esteeme: But if they furnish the Parliament with *vnjust and vnnecessarie grienances*, I defend them not, but leaue them to make their owne apologie, only thus much I say, that the whole body of a profession is not to bee charged with the fault of some fewe, specially being imputed by those who desire most to fish in our troubled waters, to warme their handes at the fire of our contentions, and to rippe vp our woundes (if we haue any) with smiling countenances.

Hoc Itacus velit, & magno mercentur Asida,

Now if the one inroach vpon the other, farther then their proper and limited bounds permit, I excuse them not, but leaue

leauethem to the censure of his wisdom, and restraint by his power, vpon whom they⁶ depend both, and from whom they both receiue their limits and being.

Lastly, whereas you make him a *Petty-fogging Lawyer*, that would fetch the antiquity of the Lawe from the Saxons, that were before King Ethelbert, herein you make that famous Iudge before named, whom in his time they esteemed a Father of the Law, and a learned antiquarie, a *Petty-fogging Lawyer*, in as much as in his Book about mentioned, he thus speaketh: [7 The realme of England was first inhabited by the Britanes; next after them the Romanes had the rule of the land; and then againe the Britanes possessed it; after whom the Saxons invaded it, and changing the name thereof, did for Britaine call it England; after them for a certaine time the Danes had the dominion of the realme, and then the Saxons againe; but last of all the Normans subdued it, whose descent continueth in the gouernment of the Kingdome at this present; and in all the times of these seuerall Nations and of their Kings, this realme was still ruled with the selfe same customes that now it is, which if they had not bene right good, some of those Kings, mooued either with pride, or with reason, or affection, would haue changed them, or altogether abolished them, and specially the Romans who did iudge all the rest of the world by their owne Lawes; likewise would other of the foresayed Kings haue done, who by the sword only possessing the realme of England, might with the same power haue extinguished the Lawes thereof; and touching the antiquitie of the same, neither are the Romane civil Lawes, by so long continuance of ancient times confirmed, nor yet the Lawes of the Venetians, which aboue all other are reported to be of most antiquitie, for as much as there Iland in the beginning of the Britanes was not then inhabited, as Rome it selfe was then also vnbuilted; neither are the Lawes of any which worshipped God so ancient; wherefore the contrary is not to bee sayd nor thought, but that the English Customes are very good, yea of all other the very best] neither can I conceiue any other reason Mr. Doctor hath, thus bitterly to enuie against our Lawes, as if they came from the Court infidel, and were a burthen to the Common wealth, but because some of them are bent against the Popes vsurpation, and the admissi-

6 As God contains the Sea within his owne bounds and marches, so is it my office to make euery Court containe it selfe within its owne limits, see his *Maxims* Speech in Parliament, 1609.
7 Cap. 17.

on of his emissaries from Rome, and as the Canon Law carries vp the Arke of the Church (that is the Pope) fiftene cubits about the highest mountaines of Soueraigntie, so is the Common Law so fauourable and aduantageous in extending the Prerogative of the King, as his *Maiestie* professeth, [For a King of England to despise the Common Lawe, is to neglect his owne Crowne:] and a little after protesteth, that [if it were in his hand to chuse a new law for this Kingdome, hee would not onely preferre it before any other nationall lawe, but euen before the very iudiciall law of Moyles.]

So that whether wee expect Spirituall instruction and comfort, or the Temporall wealth and libertie of the Common of England, (if the Iesuite and Seminarie Priest who both seeke the ouerthrow of our Church, and deceiue and consume the people, would let them alone) there would quickly appeare no reason of State at all, why they should desire reconciliation to Rome, (which with sugred speeches, and counterfeited faces, doth so much abuse them) or loathe the reformation which is euery way so comfortable and beneficiall vnto them.

B. C.

44.

I am therefore in very assured hope, that by my comming to the Catholike Church, beside the satisfying, and sauing of mine owne soule, I shall doe no illservice to your Maiestie, neither in respect of your selfe nor your children, nor in respect of your Lords and Commons, and that there is no reason concerning the state of any of these, that is sufficient to dissuade unitie. There is onely the Clergie left; which if Caluinisme may goe on, and preuaile as it doth, shall not in the next age bee left to bee satisfied; and there is little reason that any man that loues the Clergie, shall desire to satisfie such¹ Clergie-men, as do vnder-hand fauour Caluinists, and

¹ What those Clergie men are, wee desire to know, and who in your sense are Caluinists.

and maintaine such 2 points of doctrine, as if your Maiesties fauour were not, would out of hand overthrow the Clergie, and in stead of them, set up a few stipendary Preachers.

2 What those points of doctrine are, wee shall see in the next Section.

3 That his Maiesties fauour to the Clergie is such, as not to giue way to their overthrow, and in stead of them to see vp a few stipendary Preachers, we haue had good triall, and are bound to blesse God for it: but fore against the will of all Romane Catholikes, it is that his Maiestie should fauour them so much.

G. H.

44.

And wee are on the other side as confident, that in going to the Church of *Rome*, and forsaking your owne, in which you were bred and baptized, besides the indangering of your own soule, you haue done no good service to his Maiestie, neither in respect of himselfe, nor his children, neither of his Lords, nor Commons in perswading vnitie with the Church of *Rome*, vlesse first thee could bee perswaded to the imbracing of the same veritie in Religion with vs. There is onely the Clergie left, which if Popery should goe on, and preuaile, as you desire it should, shall not in the next age bee left to bee satisfied, or to giue satisfaction; but there is little reason, that any man that loues the Clergie, should desire to satisfie such Clergie-men as your selfe, while you were among vs, who vnder hand fauour Papists, and maintaine such points of doctrine, as if his Maiesties authoritie were not, would out of hand overthrow the doctrine established, and in stead thereof, reestablish the Papacie.

B. C.

45.

There neuer was, is, nor shall bee, any well settled State in the world, either Christian or heathen, but the Clergie and Priesthood was, is, and must bee a principall part of the gouernment, depending vpon none but him onely, whom they suppose to bee their God; but where Caluinisme preuaileth, three or foure stipendary Ministers

Nn

that

4 How Calvin himselfe though he were a stipendary Minister, pleased Master Maior and his brethren, let his banishment more then once for his free preaching testifie.

2 We are assured that both his Maiesty, and his heire apparent, are so well resolved in this point, as they will neuer put it to the question.

3 Our Sermons are not so cheape as your Masses, which notwithstanding are in a manner the very life and soule of your Priesthood.

4 The vntreuth of this assertion appears in mine answer.

5 As if all those who are called Lords, and goe in Rochets, were not by their place conformable to the discipline, & had often before they come to that place, subscribed to the doctrine established by Law.

6 They may more easily turne Lay with you, where Lay men are admitted to the administration of the Sacrament.

7 These kinde of Clergie men desire no satisfaction from you, but wish you had bin as careful to maintaine that truth which once you professed, as to confute their pretended errors, which confutation notwithstanding you speake much of, but no where performe, nor so much as vndertake,

that must preach, as it shall please *Ms.*¹ Maior and his brethren, may serue for a whole city; and indeede if their opinions bee true, it is but folly for any State to maintaine more: For if God haue predestinated a certaine number to bee saued without any condition at all, of their beeing in the visible Church by Faith, or their perseuering therein by good workes: If God hath reprobated the greatest part of the world without any respect at all of their infidelity, heresie, or wicked life: if the faith of CHRIST be nothing else but the assured perswasion of a mans owne predestination to glory by him: if the Sacraments of the Church bee nothing but signes and badges of that grace which a man hath before, by the carnall covenant of his parents faith: if Priesthood can doe nothing but preach the word, as they call it, which lay Lay-men must iudge of, and may preach to, if they will, where occasion serues: If the study and knowledge of antiquity, uniuersality, and consent be not necessary, but euery man may expound Scripture as his owne spirit shall moue him: If, I say, these and such like opinions be as true, as they are among the Calvinists in the world common, and in England too much fauoured and maintained, there will certainly appeare no reason at all vnto your Parliament, whensoever² your Maiesty or your successors shall please to aske them, why they should bee at so great a charge as they are, to maintaine so needlesse a party, as these opinions doe make the Clergie to be: They can haue a great many more³ sermons a great deale better cheape; and in the opinion of Calvinisme the Clergie doe⁴ no other seruice: they that doe in England fauour and maintaine those opinions, and suppress and disgrace those that doe confute them; they although themselves can be content to bee⁵ lordes, and to goe in Rochets, are indeed the greatest enemies of the Clergie: and it were no great matter for the Clergie; they might easily turne⁶ lay, and line as well as they do for the most part: but it is a thing full of compassion and commiseration to see, that by these false and wicked opinions, the deuill, the father of these and all other lies, doth daily take possession of the soules of your Subiects, both of Clergie and laitie. 7 These kind of Clergie men I confesse I doe not desire

to satisfie any other way, then as I haue alwayes done, that is, by the most friendly and plaine confutation of their errorrs to shew them the trueth; as for other Clergie men that are conformable to the religion establisshed by Law, as well for their doctrine, as for their discipline, if they be good Schollers and ⁸ temperate men (as I⁹ know many of them are) they cannot but in their iudgements approue the truth of Catholike religion, and if it were not for feare of losse or disgrace to their wiues and children, they would be as glad as my selfe, that a more ¹⁰ temperate course might be held, and more liberty afforded to Catholikes and Catholike Religion in England: These Clergie men, I am and euer shall be desirous to satisfie, not onely in respect of themselues, but also in respect of their ¹¹ wiues and children, whom I am so farre from condemning or misliking, as that I doe account my selfe ¹² one of them; and I desire nothing more in this world, then in the toleration of Catholike religion to liue and ¹³ die among them; and therefore I haue had so great care in this point, as before I did ¹⁴ submit my selfe to the Catholike Church, I receiued ¹⁵ assurance from some of the greatest, that if his Maiesty would admit the ancient subordination of the Church of Canterbury vnto that mother, ¹⁶ by whose authority all other Churches in England at the first were, and still are subordinate vnto Canterbury, and the first free vse of that Sacrament, for which ¹⁷ especially all the Churches in Christendome were first founded, the Pope for his part would ¹⁸ confirme the interest of all those, that haue present possession in any Ecclesiasticall lining in England, and would also permit the free vse of the Common Prayer booke in English, for Morning and Euening Prayer, with very little or no alteration, and for the con-

⁸ You may rather call them temporizing, then temperate.

⁹ It were well that others knew them too, (if any such there bee, who in iudgment approue the truth of that religion which you call Cath.) and yet proteste themselves not onely members, but Ministers of our Church: but our hope is that their number is not such as you vaunt of; it being vnpossible that honest men and good Schollers should take the oath of Supremacie, and subscribe to our articles of religion, and yet in iudgement approue the authority of the B. of Rome, which is in a manner the substance of that religion.

¹⁰ Had ours had the like temperate course

held with them, or the like liberty afforded in Queene Maries dayes, they would haue thought themselues happy. ¹¹ Their wiues and children are bound to pray for you, in regard of your fatherly care of them. ¹² It is well that you account your selfe one of the honest men and good Schollers, but they are so farre I hope from accounting you one of them, as they vtterly condemne and mislike your courses. ¹³ But it pleased God you should die among strangers, and not liue to see that toleration you desired: neither shall any of them we hope, that yet liue and desire to see it. ¹⁴ As if the whole fortune of Greece depended vpon your submission to that Church. ¹⁵ What assurance can there bee on our parts from them, who hold faith is not to be held with heretikes: but you forgot your promise made to my Lords Grace of Cant. in your Letter dated from Colin the 17 of August 1613. that you neither were, nor euer would be wholly reconciled to the Church of Rome. ¹⁶ By Pope Gregories letter to Austin the Monke, it appears that the other Churches were by him subordinated to Yorke and London, but by king Ethelbert to Canteibury, so that the L. Archbishop holds his iurisdiction by the Kings authority, and not by the Popes. ¹⁷ How then will you make good our Sauours words, *My house shall be called the house of prayer?* or of S. Paul, that he was sent to preach, and not to baptize, that is as I take it chiefly to preach? ¹⁸ How can he confirme them in Ecclesiasticall linings, who are no better then Lay men, hauing no lawfull orders as is the current opinion of Rome.

19 So that looking through the spectacles of that religion, all seemed golde to you that glistered, but you might as well haue forborne the asking of that, as ought else.

20 That is such, if any such there

bee, who in iudgement approue the trueth of Catholike doctrine in your sense, for others you renounce as the greatest enemies to the Clergy, that is, your selfe and your supposed brethren.

tentment and security of your Maiesty, he would giue you not onely any satisfaction, but all the honor, that with the vniity of the Church, and the safetie of Catholike Religion, may be required: which seemed to me so reasonable, as being before satisfied for the trueth of Catholike Religion, I could aske ¹⁹ no more; so that I am verely perswaded that by yeelding to that trueth which I could not deny, I haue neither neglected my duty and seruice to your Maiesty and your children, nor my respect and honour to your Lords and Commons, nor my loue and kindenesse to my ²⁰ honest friends and brethren of the Clergie; but rather that my example and my prayers shall doe good vnto all.

G. H.

45.

That the Clergie should be a Principall member of the body politike we graunt, but that they should depend on none but him only, whom they suppose to bee their god, wee denie; Indeed where the authority of the Bishop of Rome swayes, looke how many Clergy men there are, so many subiects are exempt from the Iurisdiction of the secular power, and wholly depend vpon his Holinesse, who is to them in regard of the vniuersalitie of his commaund, and the infallibilitie of his iudgement, in stead of their God, but for vs [*Non habemus aliam consuetudinem, neq; Ecclesia Dei*: we depend first on God, and then on the Soueraigne Magistrate, his annointed and vicegerent on earth:] In regard of externall coactive iurisdiction, with Saint Augustine wee distinguish betweene the eternall God, and the temporall Lord, yet wee obey the temporall Lord for his sake that is the eternall God: But where Calvinisme preuaileth, three or foure stipendary Ministers (you say) that must preach, as it shall please M^r. Maior and his brethren may serue for a whole Citie, where, by

by *Caluinisme* you vnderstand not the discipline or forme of Church gouernment, conceived by *Caluin*, but Doctrinall pointes maintained by him, or at least wile, by you imposed on him; I say imposed on him, in as much as the greatell part of those positions; is certainly no part of his *Doctrine*; and for the rest (malice and preiudice set aside) they might suffer, as sauourable a construction in *Caluin*, as in Saint *Augustin*, or in *Bellarmino*, and other *Iesuits* and schoolemen, neither is all that *Caluin* hath written, without exception maintained, by those in *England*, who otherwise imbrace and reuerence his paines, as of a chiefe Captaine in the Lords battailes: your positions I will examine as they lie in order, whereof the first is.

[*That God hath predestinated a certaine number to bee saved, without any condition at all of their being in the visible Church by faith, or their perseuering therein by good workes.*] To which I answer, that if wee consider *Predestination* before the fall, it can haue no reference, to *Faith* or *good workes*, flowing from thence, in as much as if *Adam* had stood in his originall integritie, wee should not haue needed the comming of *CHRIST* for our saluation, and consequently, neither faith in him, nor those workes which are the necessarie fruits and effects of that faith; but if after the fall, then are they both required, not as impulsue and meritorious causes, but as markes and effects infallible of our *Predestination*, and withall, as the ordinary conditions, and meanes of our saluation: This I take to bee *Caluins* opinion, in the third booke and 22. chap. of his *Institutions*, and not *Caluins* onely, but *Martyrs* in his *Commentary* on the 8th. to the *Romanes*, and *Zanchies* in his 5. booke of the nature of *God*, and second chapter, and *Bezaes*, in the acts of the conference at *Montpelgard*; and generally of our owne Writers that haue touched this point, and if wee erre herein, wee erre with *S. Augustine*, who in his 87. tract vpon *Iohn*, thus speaks, [*Hic certe vacillat eorū ratiocinatio, qui præscientiam Dei defendunt contra gratiā Dei, & ideo dicunt nos electos ante mundi constitutionem, quia præscinit nos Deus futuros bonos, non seipsum nos facturū bonos: Non hoc dicit qui dicit, non vos me elegistis, quoniam si propterea nos elegisset, quia bonos futuros esse nos præscine-*

rat, simul etiam prescisset quod eum nos fuisset prius electuri. Heere falleth to the ground, their vaine manner of reasoning, who defend the foresight of God, against the grace of God, affirming that wee were therefore chosen before the foundation of the world, because God foresaw wee would bee good, not that himselfe would make vs good: But hee sayes not so, who sayes [*you haue not chosen mee*] for had hee chosen vs, because hee foresaw wee would bee good, hee should also haue foreseene, that we would first haue chosen him] To the same purpose doth hee speake, in the 98. Chapter of his *Manuel* to Laurence, and in his 105. Epistle; neither doeth the *Master of sentences* dissent from him herein, in his first Booke and 41. distinction: *Opinati sunt quidam* (sayeth he) *Deum ideo elegisse Iacob, quia talem futurum presciuit qui in eum crederet, & ei seruiret*: Some (saith he) haue bene of opinion, that God chose Iacob, because hee knew hee would beleue on him and serue him, which Saint *Augustin* in his *Retractions* confesseth, that himselfe sometimes held, where hee plainly prooueth, that [had hee bin chosen for any merit to come, that election had not proceeded from grace] The same is also the opinion of ¹Scotus, of ²Aquinas, and ³Bellarmin himselfe, so that to say, God hath predestinated a certaine number, without any condition of faith or workes, as the impulsiu or meritorious cause of our predestination, is not *Caluins* opinion alone, neither was he the first broacher of it; And to say that hee predestinated a certaine number, without any condition of Faith and workes, as the markes and effects of our Predestination, and the means of our saluation, is not *Caluins* opinion at all, but thrust vpon him by Mr. Doctor. *He hath chosen vs (sayeth the Apostle) before the foundation of the world, that wee should bee holy, making holinesse the finall, but not the efficient cause, with which distinction doeth *Sixtus Senensis* shut vp the matter in the sixth 4 Booke of his *Library*, where hauing at large alleaged the sayings of *Origen*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, &c. who seeme to hold, that the Prescience of workes is the cause of diuine Predestination, [*que quidam sententia* (sayeth he) *in Pelagio damnata est*, which opinion was cōdemned in *Pelagius*] he addeth that *Augustine*;

1 1. dist. 4. *que vnic. S. potest aliter.*

2 P. 1. q. 23. a. 5. ad 3.

3 De gratia lib. arbitrio. lib. 2. cap. 9.

* Ephes. 1. 4.

4 Annot. 251.

gustin, hauing sometime held the same, vpon better aduice, retracted it almost in innumerable places, and at length concluds, [*Nec dubium est, &c.* Neither is there any doubt to bee made, but that some of those foresayd Fathers, in pronouncing our workes foreseene to bee the cause of Gods Predestination, vnderstood it of the finall cause, and not of the meritorious.]

The second point which you call *Caluinitie*, is; that [God hath Reprobated the greatest part of the world without any respect at all of their infidelitie, heresie, or wicked life;] to which I answer, that this point of Doctrin being rightly vnderstood, is not *Caluins* alone; but *Martyrs*, *Zanchies*, *Bezaes*, in the places before alleaged, and generally of our owne diuines; nay of Saint *Augustin*, of *Lombard*, of *Scotus*, of *Thomas*, and of *Bellarmino* himselfe, who in the place aboue quoted, distinguisheth Reprobation into a negative and a positive acte; the negative is Gods will of not sauing men, the positive his will of damning men. [of the former of these (sayeth hee) no cause can bee assigned, in regard of vs, as neither of our Predestination, but of the latter, the cause is the foresight of sinne] Now the former of these two acts is that, by which men are properly sayd to bee reprobated, as by the latter to bee damned, so that to say, God hath reprobated the greatest part of the world, without respect of any thing in themselves, is no more *Caluinisme*, then *Bellarminisme*: *Catherinus* indeed enueighs bitterly against those, who affirme, that God reprobats some, not because hee foresees their wicked life; but because his pleasure is to exclude them from Eternall life; and this opinion hee ascribes to *Luther*, calling it impious and intolerable, but *Perrinus*, somewhat sharper sighted, takes vp the blundring olde man for it, putting him in minde, that it was *ipissima B. Augustini sententia*, the very selfe same doctrine, which Saint *Augustin* teacheth.

The third point which you call *Caluinisme* is, that [saith is nothing else, but the assured perswasion of a mans owne Predestination to glory by Christ] which differs not much in words, and in sense very little, or not at all, (as I conceiue) from his *6 Maiesties* definition, where hee calles it a *sure perswasion*, and apprehension

5 *Disin Rom. 9.*
Num. 91.

6 *Basil. dor:*
pag. 11.

hension of the promises of God, applying them to your soule, and therefore may it iustly bee termed (saith hee) the Golden chaine that linketh the faithfull soule to CHRIST: But I wonder what M^r. Doctor meant, in saying, that Calvin maketh it nothing else, whereas the Church of Rome maketh it not by many degrees so much; it beeing in their doctrine a naked and bare apprehension of, and assent vnto supernaturall trueths, in which the deuill himselfe may goe as farre as any, nay, doeth goe farther then many of them; for in that sort hee both * beleenes and trembles, and by this faith, impossible it is that wee should either * quench the fiery darts of the wicked, as S. Paul speaks, or * overcome the world as S. Iohn: Faith (saith the authour to the Hebrewes) * is the ground of things which are hoped for, and the euidence of things which are not seene: now what is that grounded euidence, but an assured perswasion? and what are those things hoped for, and not seene, but chiefly the glory to which through CHRIST wee are predestinate? so that you may as well put a nothing else vpon S. Pauls definition, as vpon Calvin, and yet is ⁷ Calvins somewhat more then you make it, in as much as thereby the fauour of God is not onely apprehended, but sealed vnto the heart; whereas your faith is of that nature, as it neither hath any sound foundation to build vpon, neither is a man certaine when he hath it; neither if hee haue it, how long hee shall keepe it; neither if hee keepe it, whether at last it will serue for his iustification in the sight of God; So that a nothing else may rather be pind vpon the sleee of that faith which the Church of Rome teaches, then that which Calvin defines.

The fourth point which you call Calvinisme is, that [the Sacraments of the Church, are nothing but signes and badges of that grace, which a man hath before by the carnal covenant of his parents faith] whereas ⁸ Calvin in many places, and expresse tearmes, directly denies, the Sacraments to be nothing else but bare signes, they beeing in his doctrine, not onely signes to represent that which they are ordained to signifie, but seales to confirme that which they represent, and withall, pipes to conuey, or instruments to present that to the soule of the worthy receiver,

* 1am. 2. 19.

* Ephes. 6. 16.

* 1. Ioh. 5. 4.

* Chap. 11. 1.

7 Instit. lib.
3. cap. 2. § 7.

8 See the 4.
booke 14. chap.
of his Institur.

uer, which they represent to the sence: much lesse then doe either hee or wee make the *Sacraments* signes onely of that grace which the receiuer hath by covenant of his parents faith, as Mr. Doctor would haue it, for then would it follow, that they should not at all bee *Sacraments* vnto them, whose parents either are, or died Infidels, though themselues bee conuerted to Christian Religion; and whereas hee calls that a *carvall* Covenant, which God made with *Abraham* and his seed, it argues a *carvall* minded man, sauouring those things which are of the *Flesh*; and not of the *Spirit*.

The fift point which Mr. Doctor calls *Caluinisme* is, that [*Priesthood can doe nothing but preach the word*, (as they call it) which *Lay-men* must iudge of, and may preach too, if they will, where occasion serues] as if hee were ignorant, that both by *Caluin*, and by vs, publicke prayer, in the name, and for the good of the people, is specially committed to the *Priesthood*, and to it onely is the power of binding and loosing, and of administering the *Sacraments* annexed, whereas in their doctrine, it is permitted not onely to *Lay-men*, but to women, in some cases: But with vs (you say) *Lay-men* must iudge of that which is preached, and may themselues preach too; whereas the truth is, that wee allow them a iudgement, of examination onely, or triall, which **S. Paul* allowed his auditors, and **S. Iohn* his, not of decision or determination, which you seeme to implie; and for their preaching, both our, and *Caluins* rule is, that no man with vs taketh, or should take this honour to himselfe, but he which is called, as was **Aaron*, inwardly by the *Spirit* of God, fitting him with gifts, and a disposition thereunto; and outwardly by the *Constitutions* and ordinances of the Church.

The sixth and last point which Mr. Doctor calls *Caluinisme* is, that [*the studie, and knowledge of antiquitie, vniuersalitie, and consent is not necessary, but euery man may expound Scripture as his owne spirit shall mooue him*] where first I cannot but wonder, that Mr. D^r, who vttereth neither antiquity, vniuersality, nor consent through his whole discourse, should here at last cast, stand so much vpon them, yet I am perswaded, it was rather to beare y^e in hand, that himselfe was deeply studied in them, then

* 1. Cor. 11. 13,

28. * 1. Iohn 4. 1.

* Heb. 5. 4.

that hee thought they could much aduantage his cause; neither is the studie and knowledge of them so neglected, by those whom Master Doctor, (if hee were liuing) would call *Caluinists*, that they feare, euen by that triall, to encounter the stoutest Champions of the Church of *Rome*: For leauing *Caluins* frequent quotation of the ancient Councils and Fathers, let the workes of *Martyr*, of *Bucer*, of *Zanchius*, of *Inninus*, of *Sadel*, of *Chamier*, of the Noble *Du Plessis*, and *Du Moulin* testifie, what account they make of the vniuersall consent, and of *Antiquitie*: And for our owne here at home, he that shall looke into the writings of Bishop *Jewel*, of *Raynolds*, of *Whitakers*, of *Fulke*, of *Humphreys*, of *Perkins*, (I spare to name the liuing, nothing inferiour herein to the dead) may easily finde, if hee shut not his eyes against the light, that they spared neither cost nor paines in this kinde: To what purpose hath *Tossanus* written his *Synopsis Patrum*, and *Scultetus* his *Medulla Patrum*? To what end did that noble and worthy Gentleman, *Sir Thomas Bodley*, with so much charge and trauell, found and furnish our Vniuersitie Library at *Oxford*; and priuate Colledges, by his example, enlarge their owne? or why should *Sir Henry Sauiil*, with so much expence and care, set forth *Chrysostomes* workes, in so exact and exquisite a manner, if wee made that slight reckoning of the studie and knowledge of *Antiquitie*, as M^r. Doctor would make the world beleeue? indeed wee cannot but acknowledge that to bee true, (which trueth it selfe hath deliuered) *nothing is necessary*, and that many care, and are cumbred about other things more then about this; yet withall wee as freely confesse that many things are requisite, some in one degree, and some in another, to the better compassing of that one, which is onely and absolutely necessary in it selfe.

But every man, you say, wish us, may expound Scripture, as his owne spirit shall moue him; whereas wee euery where teach with *S. Peter*, that as [* *nor prophetic in the Scripture is of priuate motion.*] so neither is it of priuate interpretation; the originall word signifies both: Wee cannot take from any Christian man, in expounding of Scripture, a iudgement of discretion, in

in weighing the drift of the Text, and conferring it with other passages of like nature, though to the guides of the Church and Pastours of mens soules, we reserue the iudgement of direction; but the iudgement of iurisdiction to the representatiue Church it selfe, assembled in Synode: for as the spirits of the people are in this case subiect to the Prophets, who sit in *Moses chaire*, so * *the spirits of the Prophets, are subiect to the Prophets*, if not to conuince the conscience, at leastwise to impose silence; for *God is not the authour of confusion, but of peace*; and they which thinke otherwise, for mine owne part, I thinke of them, that [*the way of peace they haue not knownen.*]

* 1 Cor. 14. 32.
33.

I will conclude this point with his Maiesties most graue and godly aduice, [*When ye reade the Scripture, reade it with a sanctified and chaste heart, admire reuerently such obscure places as yee vnderstand not, blaming onely your owne capacitie; reade with delight the plaine places, and studie carefully to vnderstand those that are somewhat difficile; presse to bee a good Textuary; for the Scripture is euer the best interpreter of it selfe; but presse not curiously to seeke out farther then is contained therein, for that were ouer vnmanerly a presumption, to strine to bee further vpon Gods secrets, then hee hath will yee bee; for what hee thought needefull for vs to know, that hath hee reuealed there; and delight most in reading such parts of the Scripture, as may best serue for your instruction in your calling.*] * *reiecting foolish curiosities vpon Genealogies, and contentions which are but vaine and profit not, as Paul saith.*

* Basil. Dor.
lib. 1. pag. 10.

* Ta. 1.9.

If these then bee the opinions of the Church of England (which you call *Caluinisme*) maintained aswell by the pens, as the tongues of those Church-men, who sit at the Sterne, and in the most eminent places of the Church, there will easily appeare, a reason to the Parliament, if it be demanded, why so necessary a partie as the Clergie should, at leastwise peaceably enioy that allowance which they haue allotted, by Gods ordinance, the piety of deuout mindes, and the ancient constitutions of the Realme; and sure wee are, that a great deale lesse reason there is of maintaining so chargeable a Clergie in the *Romane* Hie-

ratchie, where the Popes plenary Indulgence may in a trice effectuate that, about which they make so much ado.

But at length the Asses eares appeare through the Lions skinne: before he haue told vs in generall that those opinions (forged for the most part out of his own braine,) were too much fauored, & maintained by Clergie men themselues; here he comes at length to open his spleene, & tels vs in plaine termes, that the Clergie men he meanes, are *such who can be content to be Lords and to go in Rochets, being indeed the greatest enemies of the Clergie*: now had the same men (who long since did smell his hypocrisie, and inclination toward Rome) fauored Dr. Cariers Popish doctrine, and designs, or endeouored to haue put him in a *Rochet*, and to haue made him a *Lord*, (whereof he thought himselfe worthy, though no man else did,) they had doubtlesse bene in his account *the Clergies best friends*: but for that they disconered and discountenanced his flie purposes and practises, they are now become *the greatest enemies the Clergie hath*; they are therefore become *enemies*, because they tell the truth; yet whatsoeuer they are to the Clergie, whome they loue and tender as their brethren, sure I am they haue proued themselues more loyall to his *Maiestie*, and more faithfull to the State, more diligent in their calling, and more vnblameable in their wayes, then the accuser, it being a thing full of commiseration and compassion to see, that by these false and wicked suggestions of mutinous and discontented persons, the deuill, the father of these and all other lies, doth daily take possession of the soules of some of his *Maiesties* subiects, both of the Nobles and Commons.

But another sort of Clergie men (you say) there are, good scholars and temperate men, who cannot but in their iudgment approve the truth of the Catholike religion: These, that you may the better satisfie, you desire two things, and by way of counterchange or retribution promise three; hauing assurance as you pretend from some of the greatest.

The first thing you desire, is no lesse then the Bishop of Rome's Supremacie in England; which you vaile vnder the title of the subordination of the Church of Canterbury, vnto that Church,

Church, by whose authority all other Churches in England as first were, and still are subordinate vnto *Canterbury*. Whether *Rome* may properly be called the mother Church of England, I haue already in another place considered, but undoubtedly as the case now stands, she being become vnto vs worse then a step-mother, we cannot in common reason entertaine vnion with her, much lesse acknowledge subiection vnto her; for shall we thinke that the head of the *Papacie* being in, the body of *Poperie* will bee long behind? no, no if that one point were once yeelded vnto, all the rest controuersed betweene vs and them, would quickly follow after, as a necessarie traine. The *Frier in Chancer* would haue nothing be killed for his sake, only he desired the liuer of the capon, and the braine of the pig: So the *Pope* would bee contented there should bee no innouation in *England*, vpon condition his *Supremacie* and the *Masse* (the second thing you desire) were readmitted, vpon which two in a manner, the whole frame of *Poperie* is built, and therefore in the reformed Churches of *France* (not without good reason in my iudgment) such as forsake the fellowship of the Church of *Rome*, and betake themselues to their profession, are bound before they bee admitted into their society publicly in the Congregation, as to renounce the errorrs of that Church in generall, so in speciall, and by name to abiure thesetwo. The vsurped authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the idolatry of the *Masse*, as may appeare in the late declaration of the admittance of the Earle of *Candale* into their Church, in January last, he being sonne and heire to the Duke d'Esperron, a chiefe Patron of the Iesuits and their faction, and the Lord himselfe (as he is stiled in the declaration printed at *Rochel* 1616) Prince of *Busch*, Duke and Peere of *France*, gouernour and Lieutenant generall for the king in the *Provinces of Xaintonge Angoulmois, high and low Limosin*, principall gentelman of the kings chamber: in this declaration he also protesteth before God, the searcher of hearts, and iudge of soules, that his change proceeded not from the motions of flesh and bloody or from worldly respects, but from the inere sense of conscience.

But to returne to our purpose, the latter of thesetwo things

10 200. yeeres
of which you
cannot except
against for free
dome, if that be
your meaning.

11 Prefro his
Basil. dor. fol. 6.

12 Pag. 78. 79.

13 *Promp. Cath.*
fr. 6. post p. 1810-
1811.

14 *Bodin. lib. 3.*
cap. 7. pol.

15 *In Ephes. 4.*

16 *De Lascis*
cap. 18. 19.

which M. Doctour craues to be yeelded vnto, he throwds vnder the cloake of *the first vse of the Sacrament*, whereas his *Maiesty* rightly termeth the present doctrine and practise of the Church of *Rome* therein, [*new coyned articles, neuer heard of in the first 500. yeeres.*] Such as are the cutting off of one halfe of the *Sacrament* from the people, private *Masses*, where the Priest playeth the part, both of the Priest and of the people, their *Transubstantiation*, *Elevation* for adoration, reseruati-
on in boxes, and circungestation in *Processions*; besides an infinite number of ridiculous and apish toyes in the celebration of it: Notwithstanding you make no bones to demand the free vse hereof, that is as I conceiue in effect, *the publike toleration and liberty of Romish religion*, a matter most vnreasonable to be expected from his *Maiesty*, of any king liuing, who therefore specially seemes to mislike the bitterness of some busie Ministers, who (God be blessed) grow both fewer in number, and more caline in their courses, because they trouble the peace of the Church, thereby giuing aduantage to the entry of Papists by the diuision thereof: how then can you conceiue any hope of a Toleration of your pretended Catholike religion it selfe? But if you consider that which his *Maiesty* writeth against the *marriage* of his sonne to one of a different religion, your hope wilbe much lesse. *Solomon* from the toleration of a strange worship within his dominions, fell at last, as we know, to the imbracing of it himselfe; And it is obserued by Diuines, both Iewish and Christian, that the diuersitie of religion, tolerated by King *Solomon* in diuine worship, was by God required vpon his heire, and next successour, *Iure salonis*, by a retaliated diuision of an vnrecoverable rupture in the ciuill gouernment: Your owne *Stapleton* spares not to reuile *Bodin* in particular, as an enemy to Christianity for *maintaining that liberty*; The *Rhemists* conclude to like purpose in their annotations vpon the new Testament; and *Bellarmino* spends two whole chapters in confuting their arguments, who pleade for this *indifferencie*, inforcing it from the example of the *Iewish Church*, grounds of Scripture, practise of Emperours, iudgement of Fathers, yea reason and experience, to bee pernicious in

in any Realme, both to the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill state, and dangerous euen to themselves which vse that liberty; shall we imagine then that his Ma^{ty}. a king, if any other in the world, so desirous to serue God truly, without shrinking or waue- ring, settled in conscience, resolved in iudgement, confirming by practise, by word, by writing, by oath, by lawes, by aduice, what hee openly professeth, would euer differ so much from himselfe, as to admit, euen of a partiall *Toleration* of a religion different from, if not contrary vnto his owne? a matter so contrary to Gods will, so dishonourable to himselfe, so dangerous to the State? * *Be not partaker* (saith S. Paul to Timothy.) of *other mens sinnes*; now I cannot conceiue, how in this case the *Magistrates* permitting, when it is in his power to forbid, can well be distinguished from *partaking*.

* 1. Tim. 5. 22.

17 Qui non probi-
bent eorum posses-
siones.

From your *demands*, you come to your *promises*, whereof the first is, that the Pope for his part would *confirm* the interest of all those that haue present possession, in any ecclesiasticall living in England: he must then confirm the interest of all those, whom you call *Puritans*, and *Caluinists*, as well as others, which I thinke hee will bee as vnwilling to doe, as they to take it from him; may I am perswaded, there is no Clergy man in England, worthy the name and credit of a good Subject, or the profit of the liuing he holdes, who would thinke the possession of it any way the securer, for the *Popes confirmation*: But to grant, that the right of those, who haue the present interest in them, might by that means bee strengthened, what were like to become of the fattest Benefices, and best dignities of our Church (the same power continuing) in the next age, wee may in part coniecture, by the experience of former times, they being by the *Popes* authoritie conferred vpon his fauourits, Italians and strangers, who neuer came so much as to see them, and yet notwithstanding, was the rest of the Clergy so harrowed, partly by the cunning practise, and partly by the violent extortion of his Legats, and Collectours, (as I haue already shewed) that it is surely, a lamentable thing to read it, much more to seele it.

The Second thing you promise is, the permitting the free vse
of

of the Common prayer booke in English; for Morning and Evening prayer, with any lielo or nouleration; belike then his Holinesse hath of late better studied that Scripture of Saint Paul, the 1. to the Corinthians, and the 14. then which I see not what can be more cleerely spoken, nor onely for reading and expounding the Scriptures, but specially for praying in a known language; and if his Holinesse iudge it no offence to God, to permit the vse of our Liturgy in English; what reason can our Recusants pretend of their refusal to ioyne with our Congregation in the vse of it, except his purpose bee to permit it only for an interim, as Charles the 5th did to the Germans, vntill hee can gaine farther strength to worke his owne ends, or as hee doth the stewes, to auoid a greater conceiued mischiefe; but (God be thanked) wee haue, and hope still to haue, the freewill of that booke without his permission, and for his permission, should thinke nothing the better; but rather the worse of it.

The third and last thing you offer is, that, for the contentment and securitie of his Maiesty, his Holinesse would giue him not only any satisfaction but all the honour, that with the vniuersity of the Church, and safety of Catholike religion, may bee required, but how farre the vniuersity of the Church, and the safety of Catholike religion extends it selfe, is so doubtfull a case, as none can determine it but the Pope himselfe, so that except his Maiestie can define, or diuine rather, what that meanes, hee shall bee as farre to seeke of his securitie as euer. Hee hath already declared by his Breues, that the taking of the Oath of Allegiance, cannot stand with the safety of Catholike Religion, so that if hee will secure his Maiestie, hee must not only condemne those Authors, and damne that Doctrine, which teaches his power in deposing Kings, and disposing of Kingdomes, but hee must either recall that declaration, made as hee pretendeth, vpon long and weightie deliberation, (which it may bee to serue his turne, hee would as willingly doe, as absolue the Venetians, though they no way submitted themselves in the point controuersed) or if hee persist in the maintenance thereof, as in greatest likelihood hee wil, I see not which way hee can secure his Maie-

Maieſtie, except hee may bee ſaid to *ſecure*, who cuts off all meanes of his *ſecuriſie*, an oath being among all *Chriſtians*, and *Heathens*, if they bee but morally honeſt (as the Apoſtle ſpeakes) *an end of all ſtrife*. It is the laſt reſolution in the ſearch of truth, and in the body politique, the ſtrongest ſinew, next the bound of nature and conſcience, whereby the members are tyed to the head, and the head againe to the members, and the members knit among themſelues: for the *Pope* then to *promiſe his Maieſty ſecurity*, and yet by this meanes to withdraw the hearts of his Subiects from their naturall allegiance, is, as if a man ſhould promiſe *ſecure paſſage* ouer a Riuer, and yet pull downe the bridge, or take away the boats which ſerue for that paſſage. His *Maieſtie* on the other ſide, hath declared the *Pope* to be *Antichriſt*, in his opinion, and can hee expect *honour or ſecuriſie* from *Antichriſt*, who hath hitherto depended on none but *CHRIST*? he may alſo be pleaſed to remember what *ſecuriſie* the two laſt *Henries* of *France* received from him: Laſtly if the *Powder-treaſon* were vndertaken without the *Popes* priuitie, how can hee *ſecure* his *Maieſtie* from the like? except hee can diue into the ſecrers of mens harts, or haue the art to foreſee things to come, or to charme the deuils in hell: God defend vs from ſuch *ſecuriſie*, which hath the face of a man, but the teeth of a Lyon, which firſt lulles vs aſleepe, and then driues a naile into our heads.

My conſclusion of this point ſhall bee, that common ſpeech of the *Italians* themſelues, [*Ac ſibo bis cocto, a medico indocto, a vento percolato, & inimico reconciliato, libera nos Domine*] from ſuch honour, as is expected from a Romiſh reconciled enemy, *Good Lord deliuer vs*; ſo that wee are verily perſwaded, by yeelding your necke to the yoke of *Rome*, and perſwading his *Maieſtie* and his Subiects to doe the like, you haue diſcloſed your hypocriſie, violated your oath, diſgraced your nation, ſtained your profeſſion, forſaken your duetie to your Soueraigne, your reſpect to his Nobles, and loue to his Commons and Clergy; and not onely ſo, but aſwell by your example as exhortations, endenoured what in

you lay, by wounding euery particular member, vterly to ruine the whole body both of Church and Common-wealth, from such Phisitions, *Good Lord deliuer vs.*

B. C.

46.

But that I must trust to, when all the rest will faile mee, is the seruice of God, and the sauing of my soule in the vnitie of that Church, which was founded by Christ himselfe, and shall continue vntill his Comming againe, wherein all the Saints of God haue serued him on earth, and doe enioy him in heauen: without which Catholike Church, there is no Communion of Saints; no forgiveness of sinnes, no hope of resurrection vnto life euerlasting: I beseech your Maiestie let not Caluins Ecclesia Prædestinatorum deceiue you; it may serue a Turke as well as a Christian; it hath no faith but opinion, no hope but presumption, no charitie but lust, no faith but a fancie, no God but an Idoll; for Deus est omnibus religionibus commune nomen Aug. Ep. All religions in the world, begin the Creed with I beleene in God; But homini extra ecclesiam, Religio sua, est cultus phantasmatum suorum, and error suus, est Deus suus, as Saint Augustine affirmeth.

How then in your Doctrin doe children baptized with vs, which die instantly after their Baptisme, goe to heauen?

G. H.

46.

It seemes then, you trusted little to the effectuating of these idle phantasticall proiects, whereabout you haue made so much adoe, and so many vaine flourishes, and indeed your confidence could not bee so little, as you had little reason to bee confident they should take effect. That Church which was founded by Christ himselfe, and shall continue vntill his comming againe,

again, wherein al the Saints of God haue serued him on earth, and do enioy him in heauen, without which there is no communion of Saints, no forgiveness of sinnes, no hope of resurrection unto life euerlasting, is indeed the true Catholike, but not the Rom. Church, it being founded by Christ before his Comming in the flesh, and shall continue untill his comming againe, but not as tied to any certaine place: in it all the Saints of God serued him on earth, as the Patriarches, and Prophets, who liued, some of them before the foundation of Rome: without it there is no Communion of Saints, no forgiveness of sinnes, no resurrection unto life euerlasting, which no doubt by Gods mercies, and Christes merits would still remaine, though Rome were turned into ashes and the Pope into nothing: howbeit as a late writer hath well obserued [ignorance is now become generally so powerfull a tyrant, as it hath set true Philosophie, Physicke, and Diuinitie, in a pillorie, and witten ouer the first, *Contra negantem principia*, ouer the second, *virtus specifica*, and ouer the third, *Ecclesia Romana*, making it the onely market, or rather Monople, both for deuotion and saluation.]

That there is a visible Church, in which the Elect and Reprobate are blended together, in the outward profession of supernaturall verities, and the precious meanes of saluation, nay in the illumination of the minde, and sundrie inward graces, *Caluine* denieth not; but that none are true and liuely members of the mysticall body of CHRIST, which hee hath ransomed with his blood, and doeth quicken and formalize with his Spirit, and will finally crowne with eternall blisse, saue the Congregation or Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heauen, hee truly affirmeth: And if *Caluin* deceiue vs herein, so doeth *S. Augustine* too, who in his third booke of *Christian doctrine*, and 32. Chapter, disputing against *Ticonius*, who had called the mysticall bodie of CHRIST, (which is most properly, and principally the Church) a body bipartite, as including both good and bad, vseth these wordes, [*Non is a debuit appellari, non enim reuera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in eter-*

num. : It ought not so to haue beene called, in as much as it is not truly the bodie of CHRIST, which shall not euerlastingly bee with him] nay, not onely *Caluin* and *Augustine* deceiue vs; but *S. Paul* in the fourth to the *Ephesians*, the fifteenth and sixteenth verses: and againe in the fift Chapter of the same Epistle, the 25. and 26. verses: but for the better clearing of this point, wee must conceiue, that the Elect, or *Predestinate* of God, are of two sorts, some elect onely, and not yet called, some both elect and called: of the latter there is no question, but they are the principall parts of the Church of God; and touching the former, they are not actually in the Church, but onely potentially in Gods *prescience* and *predestination*, who hath purposed that they shall bee, and knoweth that they will bee: when wee say then, that none but the Elect of God are of the Church of God, wee meane not, that others are not at all, nor in any sort of the Church, but that they are not fully and finally of the speciall number of them, who pertake of the most perfect worke, force, and vertue of that sauing grace, whereof that Church is the onely dispenser.

Neither can this Church serue a *Turkes* turne as well as a *Christians*, for whom he did *predestinate*, them also hee called; and whom hee called, them also hee *iustified*; and whom hee *iustified*, them also hee *glorified*; since then hee neither calls, nor *iustifies* *Turkes*, wee are sure they cannot be of the company of the *predestinate*: But his *Maiestie* himselfe (I now remember) well concluded this point, at the conference at *Hampton Court*, and therefore wee neede not feare his being deceived in iudgement; his determination is, that [wee should iudge of our *Predestination*, not so much descendendo, by prying into Gods secret counsell, as ascendendo by searching our owne hearts; the sincerity of our owne hearts, being as it were, the counterpane of Gods eternall decree, locked vp in the Cabines of his counsell;] and therefore the Apostle in the 2. to *Tim.* and the 2. ioynes them both together: The foundation of God (saith hee) remaineth sure, and hath this seale, The Lord knoweth who are his: there is the Instrument

strument sealed on Gods part; the Counterpane on ours instantly followes: and [*let every one that calleth on the Name of CHRIST, depart from iniquitie.*] So that the way to assure our selues that wee are in the number of those that are sealed to life, is to call on the name of CHRIST, in our profession, and depart from iniquitie, in our conuersation; the one is required in our life, and the other in our belief.

Neither is *the faith of such beleeuers, an opinion, or fancie*, but the ground of things which are hoped for, and the evidence of things which are not seene, and a shield to quench all such fiery and venomous darts; nor is *their hope, a presumption*; but a sure anchor against despaire, nor *their charitie, lust*; but the loue of their neighbours, as of themselves; nor their *God, an idole*; but that Lord, who hath reuealed himselfe vnto vs in his word; whereas on the other side, we may iustly say, that the *Popes Ecclesia malignantium*, may more easily *serue a Turke*, her Religion being rebellion, & her practice, murthering of foules and bodies, (as is acknowledged in the¹ publike prayers of our Church,) her faith beeing but wauering, and full of irresolution, her hope a balancing and estimation of her owne merit, her charity an ostentation of workes, no God so powerfull with her, and beneficiall vnto her as the *Pope* and the *Masse*. We know that *all religions begin in their Creed with I beleue in God*, but none haue lesse reason then they, who beleue in him in generall, without particular application; and for *S. Augustines* testimonies, that to an heretike, the entertainment and imbracing of his fantasies is his religion, I demand which is more likely to build his religion on fantasies, either he who depends meerey on the written word of God, or hee that equals his owne inuentions thereunto?

¹ Appointed
for the day of
our deliuerance
from the Pow-
der treason.

B. C.

47.

I haue more things to write, but the haste of answering your Maiesties commandement signified to me by Sir Thomas Lake his letters, haue made mee commit many faults in writing this very suddenly, for which I craue pardon, and cut of the rest: but for my returning into England, I can answer none otherwise but thus; I haue sent you my soule in this treatise, and if it may finde entertainment and passage, my body shall quickly follow after, and if not, I pray God I send my soule to heauen, and my body to the graue as soone as may be: In the meane time I will reioyce in nothing, but onely in the Crosse of CHRIST, which is the glory of your Crowne, and therefore I will triumph therein, not as being gone from you to your aduersary, but as being gone before you to your Mother, where I desire, and hope for ever to continue.

¹ M. Doctour being but a novice in his religion, it seemeth, had forgotten there was any such place as Purgatory.

YOUR MAIESTIES

True seruant, and ² Beadesman,

² Belike Master Doctour had now gotten him a knocking paire of beades, to keep him from sleeping, while he was at his Orations.

Benjamin Carier.

G. H.

G. H.

47.

S. Iohn concludes his Epistle to *Gaius*, *I haue many things to write*, and Mr. Doctor his to his *Maieslie*, *I haue more things to write*, but S. Iohn trusts to come shortly after, and speake with him mouth to mouth, but Mr. Doctour will not promise that, except he be first assured his Letter may finde entertainment, which as I heare was very slender, and no maruile then he hastened not after. S. Iohn craued not pardon for his faults, which we make the marke of an * Apocryphal writer, but M. Doctour doth, and that very deseruedly, in as much as he chose rather with ¹ *Albinus* to craue pardon for his faults committed, then not to commit them, and whereas he imputes his faults to his *sudden writing*, in imitation belike of *Campian*, therein he addes another fault to his former, in as much as a great part of this was written long before his *Maiesties* command came to his hands, partly in a Latine Epistle to Mr. *Casaubon*, and partly in an English letter to an honourable person in Court, and yet for any great matter is in it, in my iudgment it needed no long deliberation; as it was *suddenly written*; (if it were so) so may it somewhat mooue a man of a suddaine apprehension, but surely the grauer and wiser sort I thinke, it will little affect.

Lastly, for your returne into England, you can make none other answer (you say) then this, that you haue *sent your soule in this treatise*, and if it may finde passage, your body shall follow after: while you were here, your body was with vs, but your soule with them, for, *anima est non ubi animat, sed ubi amat*, and your selfe in your Common place booke maintaine, that a man may liue among heretikes or Schismatikes, not yeelding outward obedience to the Church, and yet liue in the State of grace, if his soule be united to the Church in the understanding by faith, and by charity in
the

* 2. Mac. 15. 39.

1 Maluit culpam deprecari, quam non committere.

2 *Modo abstinent propter communitatem bonum Ecclesie, non propter bonum primum.*

3 So Pelitier in his narration published of his death, witnesseth.

the will, conditionally he withhold himselfe from such outward obedience, not for private respects, but for the² publique advantage of the Church: As your soule then was with them, when your body was with vs, so your body being with them, your soule was then busie working here with vs, but for their purposes; and sure except you altered your opinions set downe in this treatise, (and I haue cause to feare you entertained worse, dying³ among the Iesuits) better you should stay there, both in body and soule, or send your soule out of your body, and your body to the graue, as in Gods prouidence you haue done, then to returne to infect that Countrey and Church, in which you were borne and bred, and baptized, which as you professed in your last Sermon before his Maiessty, and in writings which I haue to shew vnder your owne hand, might iustly contend with any Church in the world, for purity of doctrine.

But it seemes you had forgotten (being but a nouice in that doctrine) you were to passe by Purgatory before you came to heauen, except you supposed the *Spaw* waters had sufficiently purged you, or else you presumed farre vpon the merit of your profound demonstrations, as if thereby you needed not *De profundis* to be sung, nor *Masse* to be said for your deliuerance from thence, but that you must presently iumpe into heauen: I durst warrant, the *Iesuits*, among whom you died, did not esteem you such a Saint. Indeed *Castellanus* who made the funerrall oration vpon Francis the 1. the French King, was excepted against, and accused by the *Sorbonists* for saying, That he doubted not, but the Kings soule was in heauen; but his purgation was made by *Mendoza*, that he thought he called by Purgatorie in passing, but being as he was of a stirring disposition, hee made no stay there; but I thinke M. Doctor, who offers to vndertake the iustifying of all *Romish* doctrine, was not of this opinion: We teach with S. Iohn, that [*Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.] But M. Doctor should haue remembred that the Church of *Rome* teacheth with *Virgil*, (whose authority *Bellarmino* solemnly quoteth to that purpose) That the soules of the most iust (except they die

* 2. cor. 14. 13.

die by Martyrdome, or presently after Baptisme, or doe some notable Meritorious worke (as for the purpose; the killing of a King whom that Church shall iudge a Tyrant) are all to bee scoured in the flames of *Purgatory* fire, before they enter into heauen.]

But in the meane time, you say, you will reioyce in nothing but onely in the Crosse of Christ, which is the glory of his Maiesties Crowne; where, if by the Crosse of Christ you vnderstand, as S. ^{* Gal. 16. 4.} Paul did, Christ Crucified, you do well, hee being indeed, not only the Glory of his Maiesties Crowne, but the Crowne of his and our glory; but if the *materiall Crosse*, or a painted or carued Crucifix, this could bring but a shadow of ioy to you, and of glory to his Maiesties Crowne.

Lastly, you conclude, that you are not gone from his Maiestie to his aduersaries, but before him to his Mother: For the first of which I demaund, who his Maiestie shall account for his aduersaries, but those who condemne such *Romane* Catholikes, ⁴ censuring their Books, and commaunding them to purge themselves, who onely maintaine his Ciuill power in Temporal affaires, and restrain his subiects from taking the Oath of meere naturall Allegiance, which in effect is all one as if they absolued them from that Oath being taken, and consequently encouraged them to rebellion? For the second part of your conclusion, we doubt not but his Maiesties Mother might find mercie, knowing no better religion, then that in which shee was borne and bred, when such Apostates, as out of discontent, or for temporall respects, forsake a known trueth, which they haue preached, in which they were baptized, to which they haue subscribed, shall finde heauen gates shut against them. But wee ^{* I. Cor. 4. 5.} iudge nothing before the time, untill the Lord come, who will lighten things that are in darkenesse, and make the counsels of the heart manifest: and then shall euery man haue praise of God: Who so confirme vs, in that we are right, and reforme vs, in that we are amisse, that passing through things teinporall, wee may not finally lose eternall: Now prayse and honour, and glory, and power, bee vnto him that sitteth vpon the throne, and vnto the Lambe for euermore.

4 See Widdingtons Supplication to the Pope. 1616.

B. C.

Multum incola fuit anima mea cum his qui oderunt pacem; eram pacificus cum loquebar illis, impugnabunt me gratis. Psal. 119. vers. 5, 6.

G. H.

The wordes of his mouth were smoother then butter, but warre was in his heart: his words were softer then oyle, yet were they drawen swords. *Psal. 55. 21.*





AN ANSWERE TO THE MATERIALL POINTS

*of a second Letter of D^r. Cariers, written
also from Leige, to his friends
heere in ENGLAND.*

WHen I had almost finished my former answer to the Doctors Letter to his *Maiestie*, another Letter of his, dated also from *Leige*, and directed to his friends in *England*, came to mine hands; wherunto are added, certaine collections found in his Closet, made by him (as it is thought saith the Publisher) of the miserable endes of such as haue impugned the *Catholike Church*: to which is also annexed a brieve exhortation to perseuere constantly in the sayd *Catholike Church*, what opposition soeuer may occurre: and lastly, a few examples of the admirable felicitie of such as haue defended the same Church.

First then for the Letter, I must confesse, I expected from *M^r. D^r*. some piece of greater value, considering himselfe had promised vs in the last Section of his first chapter, particularly to iustifie and make plaine frō point to point the Religion at this day practised and prescribed by the Church of *Rome*; & *Pelitier* for him, that hauing consigned his writings into the hands of one of his friends, wee should shortly haue that happinesse, as to see them published, to the ioy and comfort of *Catholikes*, and the edification of those

those whom hee had forsaken; But at last we haue receiued for payment, in full satisfaction of the whole debt (as I conceiue) this Letter, with the appertenances; which I would haue set downe intire as I found it, (the very sight of it being confutation sufficient;) but that I should haue done the Printer iniury in staying his presse, and withall haue raised my booke to a bulk, too far exceeding my purpose; and it may be haue deceiued the reader too, in offering that to his view, which he would haue iudged scarce worth the reprinting. In his entrance, after his verball flourishes, and the repetition of that which hath already been answered, more then once, in any way materiall; hee settles at length vpon *nine Propositions*, the very marrow and pith of all his Letter, all tending to draw what hee might from the authority of Scriptures, and to cast it vpon the Church, that is in his language, the *Romish* Clergie, as afterwards hee expresses himselfe; I will examine the propositions as they lie in order.

B. C.

I.

That our Saniour did leaue nothing in writing, but taught his Religion to his Apostles by word of mouth.

G. H.

I.

Doubtlesse our *Saniour* was not of that *Polish* Cardinals minde, who thought it had beene better for the Church, had there beene no Scripture extant at all: for though himselfe left nothing in writing touching his Religion, yet by the Scriptures alone hee proues himselfe to be the Messias in his conferences, his Sermons, his disputations: with it hee informes the ignorant, confirms the weake, instructs his Disciples, confutes the Pharisees, puts the Sadduces to silence, and the deuill

diuell to flight. Not a booke of *Moses*, and scarce a Prophet but hee either quotes some passages from him, or at least alludes to some in him, specially that of the *Psalmes* and the Prophet *Esay*. Nay, in the 24. of *St. Luke*, it is said, hee proued his passion and resurrection from *Moses*, and all the Prophets. Though it were hee that spake to the Patriarches, in dreames, and visions, and Reuelations, yet hee mentions none of them for prooffe, and except they were vnder, much lesse traditions; but his ordinarie questions and exhortations, and reprehensions are: *How readeſt thou?* and *haue yee not read?* and *search the Scriptures*, and *yee erre not knowing the Scriptures*, and for *traditions* he names them not but to reiect them.

Secondly, it is acknowledged by the greatest Clerks, and chiefest pillars of the Church of *Rome*, that the Euangelists in writing their Gospels, and the Apostles their Epistles, were none other but the pens of a ready Writer, the Secretaries of their Lord and Master: now that which the Secretarie writes according to the direction and inditing of his Lord, more commonly is, & more iustly ought to be called the writing of the Lord then the Secretarie; it is *St. Augustines* reason in the last Chapter of his first booke of the consent of the Euangelists. *Cum Euangelista* (saith hee) *& Apostoli scripserunt quae Deus ostendit & dixit, nequaquam dicendum est quod ipse non scripserit; quicquid enim ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperauit.* In as much as the Euangelists and Apostles wrote that which God manifested and spake, it cannot be said that himselfe wrote not; for whatsoeuer his pleasure was wee should reade, touching his workes and words, that he gaue them in charge to write, as it had bene with his owne fingers.

Thirdly, it is reported by *Eusebius*, lib. 1. cap. 13. that our *Sanior* left in writing a letter to *Abgarus* King of *Edeſſa*, the copie whereof he there setteth downe at large, affirming the originall to haue bene kept among the publique Records of that Citie: but for mine owne part I must needs say, that if it bee not fained, I can not conceiue why it should not be receiued as canonicall.

Vers. 14.

Vers. 31.

Fourthly and lastly, it may very well bee, that our *Saniour* wrote nothing himselfe, in as much as those things which were to bee written, were testimonies concerning himselfe: for though it be true, in regard of his diuine authoritie, which hee deliuiers in the eigh of *S^t. Iohns* Gospel [*Though I beare record of my selfe, yet my Record is true*] Yet in regard of the apprehension of flesh and blood, it is as true which he hath in the fifth of the same Gospel, *If I should beare witnesse of my selfe, my witnesse were not true.*

B. C.

2.

That our Saniour commanded not his Apostles to write his Religion but to teach it, Ite praedicate.

G. H.

2.

As if a man might not *teach* as well by his pen as his tongue, by writing as speaking; nay, doctrine deliuered by writing, as it is conueyed more purely and certainly without mixture, arising from humane frailtie and corruption; so it spreads farther and lasts longer, and if it degenerate, is more easily reformed. It is worthy to bee marked, which *S^t. Luke* hath in the Preface of his Gospel to that noble *Theophilus*: Hee confesseth, that he had bene instructed in the doctrine of Religion, yet hee thought to write vnto him *from point to point, that hee might haue the certainty of those things*, so that though hee had indifferent good knowledge before, yet writing the storie, was the meanes to beget certainty: so saith *Dauid*, *This shall bee written for the generation to come.* Neither to my remembrance doe I reade of any that forbad their followers to *write*, but onely the *Pythagoreans* and the *Druides*: Once wee are sure that it pleased Almighty God to countenance the *writing* of holy Scripture by his owne practice, in as much as hee wrote * the Decalogue, once and againe, in tables of stone: And as he

Exod. 31.

led

led the way himselfe, so in expresse termes he commanded his seruants the Prophets to doe the like, *Moses*, and *Esay*, and *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, and *Habacuk*. Before the Law was written, what vniuersall apostasies there were from the true worship of God, the flood is a sufficient testimonie; and after it was lost, though the Priesthood continued, what generall swarings there were both of Prince and people, as well in manners as religion, appeares, 2. *Chro.* 34. What forbids vs then to thinke that our Sauour in commanding his Apostles to teach all nations, should not by vertue of that command, as well giue them in charge to publish their doctrine by *writing*, as to deliuer it by word of mouth.

* *Exod.* 17. 14.
* *Isai.* 8. 1. *ser.* 10. 3
ezek. 37. 16.
hab. 2. 3.

Besides, whiles wee read in the first of the *Reuel.* at the 11. verse, that *he who was dead, and is a line*, commands *Iohn* to write those things which he saw in a booke; and againe at the 19. verse, *Write the things which thou hast seene, and the things which are, and the things which shall come hereafter.* And againe in the second and third Chapters, in particular to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus* write, to the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna* write, to the Angel of the Church of *Pergamus* write, to the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira* write, to the Angel of the Church of *Sardis* write, to the Angel of the Church of *Philadelphia* write, to the Angel of the Church of *Laodicea* write; whiles (I say) we finde the charge of *writing* so often giuen to *Iohn*, and that by him *who was dead and is a line*, I can neuer subscribe to the trueth of that Proposition, that our Sauour commanded none of his Apostles to write, except I should denie S. *Iohn* to haue beene an Apostle, or our Sauour to be vnderstood by him, who *was dead and is a line*.

B. C.

^{3.}
That of the twelve Apostles, seven did leaue nothing at all in writing, but taught their Successours the Religion of Christ by word of mouth.

G. H.

G. H.

3.

This Proposition supposeth the number of the Apostles to haue bene but twelue; whereas *Matthias* made the thirteenth, and *Paul* the fourteenth, who proclaimes it in the front of the greatest part of his fourteene seuerall Epistles *Paul an Apostle*: But it may be Mr. Doctor will not vouchsafe him that name, because he wrote more then any of the Apostles.

Secondly, in the fifteenth of the *Actes*, wee reade, that the Apostles met together in Councill, wrote Letters, the very tenour whereof there appeares; neither can it be otherwise conceiued, but that the whole number of them, or at leastwise the greatest part was there assembled: So that to say, that *seuen of them left nothing in writing*, is both derogatorie from the authoritie of Scripture, and in it selfe vniustifiable.

Thirdly it may very wel be, that *seuen of them left nothing els* but that Letter in writing; not because they held it sufficient to teach only by word of mouth (as Mr. Doctor would imply) but because sixe of them had written, which how needfull it was they should performe, appeareth aswell by Saint **Paul*, as Saint **Iude*.

Fourthly and lastly, though nothing of their writing bee come to our hands, yet it is not certaine whether they left nothing in writing; since it is probable that Saint *Paul* wrote another Epistle to the **Corinth*, which is now no where extant.

B. C.

4.

That Saint Marke, Saint Luke, and Saint Paul, were not of Christs company whiles he was upon the earth, and therefore must needs learne their Religion of the Church before they wrote it.

G. H.

* Phil. 3. 1.
* Vers 3.

* 1. Cor. 5. 9.

G. H.

4.

Here I must confesse I could not but wonder what Mr. Dr. meant, if hee had read and beleueed Saint Pauls Epistle to the Galathians, in affirming that *hee learned his Religion of the Church*, whereas himselfe in the first and second Chapter of that Epistle, inforceth the contrary, with so many and so inuincible arguments, that they can not but instantly stop the mouth of any, who would offer to open it in defence of Mr. Doctours assertions. *Now I certifie you brethren, (saith hee) that the Gospel which was preached of mee, was not after man, for neither receined I it of man, neither was I taught it; but by the Revelation of Iesus Christ.*

Secondly for Saint Marke and Saint Luke, though they learned their Religion of the Church by hearing the Apostles, as the Apostles themselues did from Christ, by hearing and seeing him: yet doth it not follow but the former, as well as the latter, wrote by the instinct and direction of the holy Ghost: nay doubtlesse it were no lesse then impietie once to imagine the contrary: To which purpose the words of Bellarmine are worthy obseruation. ** Vt vere dicitur Epistola principis quæ à principe dictatur, etiam si is qui eam scripsit antea sciebat quæ scripturus erat: ita dicitur & immediatum Dei verbum quod scriptum est ab Euangelistis Deo inspirante & dirigente, licet scripserint ea quæ viderant vel audierant:* As that is truly sayed to be the Letter of a Prince which hee dictates, though hee who wrote knew before what he would write: So is it the immediate word of God which is written by the Euangelists (God inspiring and directing them) though they sawe and heard those things before which they wrote.

Lastly for S. Luke, he learned not the actes of the Apostles which he wrote from the Church, himselfe being an actour in a chiefe part of them, and whereas Mr. Doctor affirmes, that he was not of Christs company whiles he was vpon the earth; Sirella a Writer of the Church of Rome in his Enarrations vpon

* De Concil. anti.
lib. 3. cap. 12.

the 24. of S. *Lukes* Gospel, and the 13. verse, assures vs that graue Doctors (by whome I take it hee meanes the Fathers) were of opinion that S. *Luke* was one of those two Disciples, whom our Sauour instructed as they were iourning to *Emmaus*.

B. C.

5.
That diuers others did write the Religion of Christ, as they did apprehend it, but their Gospels and Epistles were reiectd by the Church, Luke 1.1.

G. H.

5.
 In the Primitiue Church a great part of the beleeuers, but specially their guides, were miraculously indued, as with other gifts; so with a discerning spirit, and that not onely in differencing the sinnes and persons of men; but iudging of their writings: so that though they wrote a trueth, touching the Christian religion, yet were they able to discerne whether that trueth were written, by speciall illumination and instinct of the same spirit, wherewith themselves were inspired: whereupon wee haue good reason to accept what they accepted as Canonickall, and as Apocryphall to reiect what they reiectd: but for the present Church, though it should tenne thousand times reiect the whole, or any parcell of that written trueth which they accepted; yea, though *one from the dead*, or an *Angel from heauen* should preach any other Gospel: yet ought wee rather to accurse then beleue him; notwithstanding the Church of *Rome*, as if she werē inuested with equall or higher power, though indeede shee reiect no booke as Apocryphall, which that Church accepted as Canonickall, yet doth she accept and impose diuers bookes as Canonickall, which that reiectd as Apocryphall.

B. C.

6.

That at the day of iudgement there will be no writing to try true Religion from heresie; but only the eternall trueth of Christ, in the soules of his Saints.

G. H.

6.

But that *Eternall trueth of Christ in the soules of his Saints* is the same and none other, then which is contained in the holy Scriptures: now the Gentiles indeed ** in as much as they haue sinned without the Law, they shall also perish without the Law,* that is without the Law written, saue onely in the tables of their hearts; but the Iewes, *in as much as they haue sinned in the Law, shall be iudged by the Law* (saith Saint Paul,) and our Sauour, ** There is one that accuseth you, euen Moses in whom ye trust: * Iohn 5. 45* whereby none other thing can bee vnderstood then the Law written by *Moses.*

B. C.

7.

That the Scriptures were written by men of the Church, admitted Canonically by Councils of the Church, preserved from tyrants by the care of the Church, and euer untill late expounded by the consent of the Church.

G. H.

7.

That the Scriptures were written by men of the Church, we confesse; yet so, as withall it cannot bee denied, but those holy men wrote as they were moued by the holy Ghost: We also

* 1. Tim. 3. 15.

also confesse; that *they were admitted Canonically, by the Councils of the Church*, that is declared, not made to bee so: and likewise that hitherto they haue bene *preserved by the care of the Church*, which therefore is called, * *The pillar and ground of truth*; neither ought they to be expounded, but by *the consent of the Church*, if wee speake of exposition to bee publicly allowed and receiued, touching fundamentall points; otherwise both *Caietane*, and *Andradus*, and *Iansenius*, and *Maldonat*, and diuers others of the Church of *Rome*, in fundrie places professe, that they rest not satisfied in any interpretation giuen by the Fathers, but preferre either their owne, or some other found out in this age: So that if Mr. Doctor by the Church, vnderstand the Fathers, wee haue no reason to barre our selues of that liberty, which the chiefe Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, both challenge as due, and practise as needfull; yet so, as wee vse that libertie with moderation and sobrietie, the people submitting their iudgements to their Pastours, and the Pastours in seuerall to their bodie vnited, or represented: where no very cleare and manifest reason appeareth to the contrary.

B. C.

8.

How fewe men are able to reade, and expound Scriptures any way, and whether it be not easier to beleue the Church, then to beleue a few private men, that say they can expound Scriptures better then the Church.

G. H.

8.

If wee should follow the rules and practise of the Church of Rome, fewer would bee able either to expound or reade the Scriptures then now are. Effencius, a D^r of the Sorbon, witnesseth,

nesseth, that hee was told by an *Italian* Bishop, that his Countrey men were terrified from *reading the Scriptures*, lest they should become heretikes; but the Doctor demanding what Art they then professed? why quoth the Bishop, both the Lawes, but specially the Canon: And *Robert Stephens* demanding some of the Doctors of the *Sorbon*, in what place some passage of the New Testament was written? they answered, that they had read it in *Hierome*, or the decrees: but for the New Testament, they were ignorant what it was; nay one of them was wont to sweare by the light, that hee wondered yong men talked so much of the New Testament, himselfe being fifty yeeres old before he vnderstood so much as what it meant: and if such blinde guides leade the blinde, what marueile if both fall into the ditch.

Now for *beleening priuate men*, I would faine know how the common people in their Church, come to know the exposition of the Church, or the Church it selfe, but by the information of *priuate men*: And if any of ours preferre their owne iudgement before the current opinion (which I suppose M^r. Doctor means by the exposition of the Church) I haue shewed before vpon what ground they doe it, and that therein they doe no more then those very *Romish* Diuines, who complain most of them.

B. C.

9.

That all sorts of heretikes haue alwaies boasted of the Scriptures, and despised the Church.

G. H.

9.

Though the deuill falsly alleaged Scripture, yet our SAV-
OVR thought it no sufficient reason to forbear the alleaging

of it; and though the Pharises pretended the authoritie of the Church, yet hee embraced not their corrupt glosses, leauing vs an example in both to follow his steps.

Vpon these Propositions, Mr. Doctour inferreth, that the onely way to finde the true religion of CHRIST, is to enquire which is the true Church of CHRIST; now to knowe the Church (saith he) our Saviour did found, we must obserue that this word doth signifie diuerse things, sometimes the *House of Gods seruice*, sometimes the *Congregation of all those that are Baptized*, and sometimes the *Clergie or Spiritualtie*; and in this sence alone our Saviour founded a Church when hee did call and send his Apostles, and gaue them the same power, which himselfe as man had receiued of his Father. Then to know which is the true Church (saith he) we must inquire which is the Clergie that was founded by CHRIST, and continueth in the Vnitie of the Church by perpetuall Succession from the Apostles, and so from CHRIST himselfe: And for certaine resolution thereof, he referreth vs to three arguments, as he calleth them *infallible*, whereof the first is, *The report of Chronicles and Histories*; The second is, *The Vniuersalitie, Antiquitie, and consent of doctrine, taught in the true Church, and The varietie, novelty, and repugnancie taught in Schisme*: And herein you may inquire (saith hee) of the most learned and most honest to informe you: The thirde is, *The testimonie of Scriptures of the olde and new Testament*.

For answere to this inferrence, I would willingly learne where Mr. Doctour learned those acceptions of the Church; once I am sure he taketh it otherwise then it is taken in holy Scripture; and againe in holy Scriptures it is taken otherwise then he taketh it: Neither are his two former meanes for the finding out of the Church more iustificable, then his acceptions of the Church; whereof the first is the report of Chronicles; but to grant that all Chronicles spake as the Pope would haue them, yet were all this but *humane testimony*, a sufficient inducement to moue, but no sufficient ground for the conscience to build vpon. For the prooffe of his second reason he refers his reader to the information of the most learned and most honest.

nest. But how if as learned and more honest informe him, and that more truly to the contrary? Here needs a farther inquire; which Mr. Doctor foreseeing, at length sends vs to the Scripture as being forced with vs, to confesse that the last resolution, and onely infallible stay of the Christian soule in searh both of the trueth it selfe, and consequently of the true Church, professing and publishing that truth, must necessarily rest vpon that and nothing else.



¶ A brieft



¶ A brieſe Anſwere to the other collections annexed to the Doctors laſt Letter.

NOW for thoſe other Collections which are added to his Letter, as the Publiſher makes a doubt, whether they were *made by him* or no, ſo I make no doubt, if hee had liued, hee would neuer haue ſuffered them to come to the light in ſuch ſort; as now they are publiſhed: Notwithſtanding, becauſe they appeare in his name, I held it not amiſſe to make ſome anſwere vnto them: Firſt then, for the *miſerable ends of ſuch as haue oppoſed the Catholike Church*; hee brings the example of *Iudas, and Caiphas, and Annas, and the three Herods, and Pontius Pilate, and Nero, and Domitian, and Pharaoh, and Haman, and Iezebel, and Antiochus, and Ieroboam, and a number of like ſtuffe*: After he comes to *Arch-heretikes*, tranſlating word for word what *Bellarmino* thereof hath obſerued in his 17. Chapter, of the notes of the Church: where hee makes the 14. note to bee, *Infelix exitus ſeu finis eorum qui Eccleſiam oppugnant*, *The unhappy end of ſuch as haue oppugned the Church*, the greateſt part of which (excepting thoſe laſt which *Maſter Doctor* is pleaſed to call the *monſters of our age*.) we condemne as farre ſoorth as the *Doctor* did, or *Bellarmino* doth. But for the fabulous narration of their ends, wee may truly ſay, that *Bellarmino* as vniuſtly voucheth the authoritie of *Cochlaus*, and *Bolſecke*, as the *Doctor* ſuppreſſeth *Bellarmines*. For what law humane or diuine, ciuill or naturall, admitteth a mans mortall and ſworne enemy to bee witneſſe againſt him? Yet ſuch was *Cochlaus* vnto *Luther*, and *Zuinglius*, and *Bolſeck* vnto *Caluin*: who both as they deadly hated them for their religion, (as the *Samaritanes*

maritanes did the Iewes) so had *Bolseck* a particular grudge against *Caluin*, for that hee opposed himselfe so vehemently against his wicked errors, and seditious practices in *Geneua*, as hee procured his banishment from thence: which moued him to seeke this base kinde of reuenge vpon him, the rather being ^a requested and solicited thereunto, (as hee saith himselfe) by *very many his Lords and friends*; as hoping by the defamation of *Caluin*, to recouer his lost credit with them: And as being their malicious enemies, they would not report the truth, so not being present at their endes, they could not haue certaine knowledge thereof; at leastwise their testimonie cannot with any reasonable or indifferent mindes counterpoise the euidence of those worthy men, who were eye-witnesses, and present with them: For *Pluris est oculatus testis unus, quam auris decem*: One eye-witness is of more force then tenne eare-witnesses: and, *it is great folly* (^b saith *Bellarmino*) to beleue the reports of them that were not present, rather then of them that were present: But let vs particularly, and severally, but briefly examine their slanders.

^a Epist. ad Archi-
ep. Lugdun.

^b Doms. Eccles.
14. §. sed respon-
sum.

Luther (saith the Doctor, out of the Cardinall, and the Cardinall himselfe out of *Cochlaus*) died suddenly: for hauing supped very delicately and pleasantly, being in perfect health, and hauing delighted all his companie with merrie conceits, the same night hee died. But *Tho. Bozius*, a Friar of the new Oratory order, reporteth otherwise, and that vpon the testimonie of one that then was *Luthers* seruant, but since (as hee saith) became theirs in religion; namely, that hee hanged himselfe, and that forthwith an oath was taken of all that were present, not to publish it for the honour (as they sayd) of the Gospell: Thus they agree not in their tales, no more then the false witnesses did against Christ: Neither is it strange, that *Cochlaus* and *Bozius* deuise such slanders against him since his death, seeing euen in his lifetime they spared not to publish in Print, ^d that he was dead, and when hee was laid into his graue, there was a terrible noyse heard, as if the foundations of the earth had been shaken, to the affrightment of all, & the night after there was yet a more fearefull noyse heard about his graue, which made the people run thither

^c Desig. Eccl. lib.
23. c. 3.

^d Zonier. The-
atr. p. 246.

all amazed, but opening it, they could find nor bodie, nor bones, nor clothes, onely they smelt a horrible stinke of brimstone. This *Luther* himselfe read, and in detestation of such blasphemie, publickly protested against it; as not long since *Beza* did, being handled in likemaner: But returne wee vnto *Cochlaus*: First, where he sayth, that *the supper before hee died hee was in perfect health*, they who knew him better, tell vs, that before he came to *Isib*, (whither hee was sent for by the Earles of *Manffield*, to compose a controuersie betweene them) hee was very sickly, and that hee had a long time been troubled with oppression of humors in the orifice of his stomacke. Secondly, where hee sayth, that *hee supped delicately and pleasantly, and delighted all his company with merrie conceits*; surely they that were present testifie, that his merry conceits were but holy and religious discourses; for being demaunded at supper time, *Whether in that eternall life wee should know one another*, hee answered affirmatiuely, and confirmed the same by testimonie of Scripture: according as *Thuanus* also, a Papist by profession, but of more authoritie then an hundred *Cochlausses*, doth relate. Lastly, where hee sayth, that *hee died suddenly the same night*: neither died he *the same night*, but the next day betwixt 8. and 9. of the clocke, nor yet *suddenly*, for perceiuing his sickness to grow vpon him, and feeling within him the summons of death, hee gaue many sweete and comfortable exhortations to them that were about him, and commended himselfe vnto God in a most heauenly and effectuall prayer, and so quietly, and by little and little died. And these things are testified by *Iustus Ionas*, who attended him euen vnto the last gaspe, and by *Melancthon*, and others of his best acquaintance: Whereunto I adde out of *Thuanus*, that *as in his life time hee was dearly beloved, so in his death could they not be drawn from his loue*: For they of *Manffield* were earnest, that his bodie might be buried amongst them, in as much as there he was borne: but *Io. Frederick* preuailed so farre by his authoritie, that his bodie was caried backe to *Wittenberg*, and there honourably interred: So that though Papists burst for spight and enuie, it could not be without the finger of God, that so meane a man as *Luther*, so boldly opposing

e Lib. 2. 1546.

f Loco supra citato.

posing himselfe against the Pope, (whom Kings and Emperours at that time durst not without great danger resist) yet liued so long, died so peaceable, and was buried so honourably.

The next is *Zuinglius*, who as the Doct^r, out of the same *Cochleus* saith, was slaine in warre, which he made against the *Catholikes*. Indee^de that *Zuinglius* was slaine in the fiele, neither is, nor can bee denied: but I would faine learne why so to die should be counted an *vnhappy ende*, or why that, which as seemes to mee, is an argument of his courage and magnanimitie, should bee esteemed an argument of heresie. ^s If you say hee was slaine fighting against *Catholikes*: so haue many of your *Romish Catholikes* fighting against *Protestants*: And if *Costers* defence of *Sanders*, who was slaine in *Ireland* be sufficient, He, with other *Priests* aided the armie in those things which concerne the conscience, *Quid hic mali?* What euil is herein? The same Apologie may I farre more iustly make for *Zuinglius*: He according to the laudable custome of that countrey, went as a Preacher with the armie, *Quid hic mali?* What euil is herein? Onely here lies the difference, that *Sanders* like a traitour and rebell fighting against his Prince and Countrey, perished miserably: but *Zuinglius* like a good Patriot, fighting in defence of his Countrey, died valiantly: Of whose innocencie therein, God himselfe, as to mee it seemes, hath giuen this testimonie, that when his enemies hauing found his bodie, threw it into the fire to burne it, yet his heart could neuer be consumed, as ^h *Thuanus* witnesseth.

^s Apol. p. 3. c. 9.

The thirde is *Oecolampadius*, of whom vpon the same authoritie the D^r. saith, that going to bed in good health one night, he was found dead by his wife in the morning. Vnto this fiction of *Cochleus*, it shal suffice to oppose the true report of ⁱ *Simō Grynaeus*, who (with tenne other at least, all of them very credible men) was an eye-witnesse, and present at his death: He therefore reporteth that he kept his bed sixteene dayes before his death: that in the meane season hee often exhorted them that were about him to prayer, and to die constantly for the Name of *CHRIST*, professing that hee went cheerefully to the Tribunnall of *CHRIST*. The last night of his life, demanding of a friend that came to visite him,

^h Lib. 1. c. 10.
1525.

ⁱ De mort. Oecol.
præf. Annot. in
proph.

him, what newes? and he answering, None, Then (quoth he) can I tell you newes; Shortly shall I be with the Lord IESVS: Soone after one asking whether the light did not trouble him? Here, quoth he laying his hand on his breast, is store of light: After this, as well as his tongue could utter it, he repeated that excellent prayer of Dauid for Remission of sinnes, and that entirely from the beginning vnto the end, fetching withall many deepe groanes from the bottome of his heart: Then pausing a while he said, CHRIST IESV saue mee, which was his very last speech: And so hee died with much peace and tranquillitie of mind: Thus farre Grynaeus.

The fourth is Carlostadius, whom, saith the Dr. the Ministers of Basil write to haue bene killed of a Diuell, in their Epistle of the death of Carlostadius. It cannot be denied but that Carlostadius was a man full of many imperfections, and suspected to incline too much vnto Anabaptisme: yet is this report a meere fiction, and the Epistle out of which it is vouched, a very counterfeite, as diuers haue written, which Fr. Iunius saith, he vnderstood by sufficient men, who were present at his death.

The last is Iohn Calvin who (saith the Dr.) was eaten and consumed with wormes, and dyed as did Antiochus, Hunery, Maximinus, &c. as witnesseth Hieron. Bolseck in his life; who also addeth that he died blaspheming, cursing, & innuocating diuels. A feareful and vnhappy end indeed, if it were true, and worthy of an Aneb-heretike; but if false (as I am perswaded, euen to the Doctors and Bellarmines conscience it was, when they so wrote) a most hellish slander. Thuanus a man of their owne side reiects it as a meere fable; for hee^k reports, that hauing for the space of full seauen yeeres fought with diuers diseases and griefes, yet was he therefore neuer a whit lesse diligent in his function, nor abstained from continuall writing, and at length died of the disease called the difficulty of breathing. Nay Genebrard though farre from the ingenuitie of Thuanus, and one that raileth most impotently vpon Calvin, yet durst not charge him herewith, and was ashamed to defile his Chronicle with such an impudent lie. Fr. Iunius saith, that hee was at Geneva then when Calvin dyed, yet neither saw nor heard, nor knew, nor perceined any such thing, nor so much as euer dreamed of
any

any such matter: In a word, he was visited in his sicknesse by fundrie excellent personages, by the *Syndicks* of the Citie, by the *Ministers*, by others, all which are witnesses of the sicknesse whereof hee dyed. And ¹ *Theod. Beza*, who faithfully wrote his life and death, whereof (as he saith) *hee had bene a spectator sixteene yeeres together, testifieth that in him was proposed unto all, a most excellent patterne of Christian both life and death, which (saith he) is as easie to caluminate, as it is hard to imitate.* These things considered, I referre mee now vnto the Readers indifferencie, whether is more worthy of credite, the whole Citie of *Geneua*, and so many notable men present at his sicknesse and death, and testifying of his peaceable, holy, and Christian departure: or one *Hieron. Bolsec*, a Knight of the poste, twice banished, thrice a runagate, who of a *Carmelite*, became a *Physitian*, or rather a *Quacksaluer*, a sworneemie to *Caluin*, one that had bene from *Geneua* more then ten yeeres together, and had sold his pen vnto his *Lords and friends* to defame *Caluin*. And thus much in defence of those men whom the D^r. termeth the *Monsters of our age*. 1 In vna Cal.

Now although the vnhappy end of some particular men be no demonstratiue prooffe, and scarce a coniecturall signe of the falshood of that religion which they professe, and that Church in which they make their last end: yet that it may appeare in requital of the D^r. or rather the Cardinal, how vnhappily some zealous persecutors of such, as haue forsaken fellowship with the Church of *Rome*, haue ended their liues, I could referre the Reader to a large Discourse touching that point toward the end of the second part of the *Acts and Monuments*, and also in *Hassenmullerus*, in the conclusion of his booke. Neither can the like iust exception bee taken against their euidences, as against that of *Bolsec* and *Cochleus*: But I will content my selfe with the testimonie of *Thuanus*, a professed member of that Church which M^r. Doctor calls Catholike; yet such a one as besides his great paines and diligence in the search of trueth, had singular meanes for the finding of it out himselfe, being now President in the Court Parliament of *Paris*, where his father had bin *Premier President* before him: This man then ^m testifies, m Lib. 3. 1547.

stifies, first of the Cardinall of S. *Andrewes* in *Scotland*, who condemned *George Wisheart* vnto the fire, that standing at a window sumptuously set forth with cushions and hangings of silke to behold his execution, & *George* being exhorted when the fire began to burne to be of good courage: This flame indeed, answered hee, is painefull to my bodie, but it doth no whit dismay my minde; but hee that now from aloft looks downe so proudly vpon me, as arrogantly as now he sits; so ignominiously, within these fewe dayes shall hee lie along, which soone after came to passe: for being miserably slaine, his dead body was in the open sight of all laide along in the same window, from whence he had so ioyfully beheld the burning of *Wisheart*: And so the euent (saith *Thuanus*) verified his Prophecie.

n Lib. 6. 1550.

n *John Roman* a Monke and cruell persecutor, inuented a new kind of torment for the persecuted: he would draw vpon their legs, boots full of hote boiling grease, and then setting spurres vpon their heeles iestingly, would demand of them whether they were not sufficiently appointed for their journey: But vnderstanding that a summons was granted out against him by the Parliament of *Aix* to answer for his cruelties, and that by the commandement of *Francis* the I. hee fled vnto *Auinion*, where thinking himselfe safe from men, yet hee escaped not, (saith *Thuanus*) the vengeance of God; For he was spoiled by his owne seruants of all that he had, and brought to extreme pouertie: his body also was so full of loathsome vlcers, that oftentimes he wisht for death, which yet he could not obtaine but after a long time, and horrible torments.

• Ibid.

• *Oppeda* another bloody persecutor, being called to answer for his more then barbarous cruelties, in the Parliament of *Paris*, by the appointment of the said King *Francis*, escaped indeed that danger by the commendation of the *Guise*, and together with his Collegues was restored vnto his former dignity; neuerthelesse, soone after he was stricken with horrible paines in his entrailles, wherewith he was a long time tormented, and at length in the mids of most cruell torments breathed forth his cruell soule, God (saith *Thuanus*) inflicting on him that iust punishment

nishment which the iudges exacted not, which though it were long in coming, yet fell the more heavily when it came.

P *Albaspineus* when Protestants were brought forth to execution, aduised to stop their mouthes that they might not speake vnto the people: Not long after falling deeply in loue with a certaine woman, he fel withal out of his wits, and being strikē also with the lowzie disease, he died in most grieuous torments, his friends putting a bridle into his mouth to force him to receiue some sustenance, which yet he frantikely refused, hauing decreed to famish himselfe because of the vn-sufferablenesse of his paines.

q *Ponseratius* another butcher, being fallen into great debt, hauing riotously wasted, both his owne patrimony, and his wiues dowry, vpon conscience of his wicked life, fell likewise mad; whereupon despairing of his saluation, & being chained vp by his friends, with lamentable shriekings, and rending of himselfe, hee finished his life in extreme pouerty.

Finally, Cardinall *Crescentius* the Popes Agent in the Council of Trent, hauing spent much of the night in writing letters to the Pope, and at length rising from his chaire, he seemed to see a dog, which with huge iawes, fire eyes, and eares hanging downe to the ground, furiously came towards him, and by and by couched vnder the table; then calling his seruants, and light being brought, when hee saw the dog no where appeare, he was astonished at it, and thereupon fell into many sad cogitations, and so into sicknesse, which he no sooner felt, but presently hee despaired of life, although his Physicians and friends gaue him good hope of recovery. At last being caried from thence to *Verona*, and euen at deaths dore, he would often call vpon them that attended him, to take heed of the dog, and to keepe him from coming vpon his bed: Thus farre out of *Thuanus*.

To these may be added the miserable end of *Philip* the II. King of *Spaine*, who though he had bene a chiete pillar of the Romish Church, and a great enemy of the Protestants and their religion, yet died hee of the same disease which the Doctor out of *Bellarmin*; and *Bellarmino* out of *Cochlan* imputes

f T. Matth. hist.
de Fr. m. lib. 1.
nar. 4.

to *Caluin*: As also the vnhappy endes of all those who were the chiefe plotters in the *Massacre of France*, *Charles* the IX. then King, the *Queene Mother*, *Henry* the third, then Duke of *Anion* the Kings brother, and the Duke of *Guise*; of which, *Charles* died wallowing in his owne blood, issuing out of all the conduits of his body: the Duke of *Guise* was suddenly slaine at *Blois* by *Henries* command, for griefe whereof the *Queene Mother* died within a few dayes, and in reuenge of the *Guises* death, not long after *Henry* himselfe was murdered by a Frier. Lastly to crie quittance also with the D^r. in regard of the ends of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius* and *Caluin*, whom he counteth *Arch-heretikes*, and termeth *Monsters*: it may please him to remember, that sundry of the Bishops of *Rome* who haue bene very Antichrists, and by his owne *Platina* and *Genebrard*, are called *Monsters of men*, haue had most fearefull and wretched ends: For some haue bene poisoned, some murdered by *Anti-Popes*, some haue died in prison. *Iohn* the XII. euen in the very act of adultery, was suddenly stricken by the deuill (saith *Turrecremata*,) and died without repentance, others that haue compacted with the deuill, haue bene caried away by him, and, not to reckon vp all that thus haue perished, seeing it would bee too tedious, fittie *Popes* a-row, being rather Apostatical then Apostolicall, and monsters of men, *It is no marueile* (saith *Genebrard*,) *if they were so many in few yeeres, and died quickly.*

His last argument is the temporall prosperity of them which haue defended the Church: His examples are likewise a meere translation of *Bellarmines* 18th. Chapter of the notes of the Church: So that for answer thereunto, I might iustly referre the Reader to them who haue answered him, as also to my Reply to the fourth Section of M. Doctors second chapter of his Letter to his *Maiesty*: But I chuse rather to close vp the whole with his *Maiesties* words, in the latter end of his answer to Cardinall *Perrons* oration: *History*, saith his *Maiesty*, and experience teach vs, that disunion with the Pope hath no whit impeached the prosperitie of kingdomes. *Philip* the faire reigned in peace and prosperity, notwithstanding his attempts vpon the Papall
Sea,

† In Bened. 4.

Cron. l. 4.

¶ Sum. de Eccl.
l. 2. c. 103.

Sea. King Lewis the twelfth defeated in battell the troupes of Pope Iuly the second, and his alies, declared him false from the Papacie, and caused Crowns to be stamped, wherein Rome is called Babylon; yet neuertheless was loued and honoured of his subiects, who gaue him the title of Father of the people. Neuer did Great Britaine euer receiue so great blessings of God, nor enjoyed so much peace and plenisie, as since the time that Popes haue no more but the looking on and sent no more their Legats to gather the tribute of S. Peter, and that the Kings of England doe no longer homage vnto the Pope for their Crowne, and are no more lashed by Monkes. What was Holland, Zeland, and Frizeland, before that God lighted among them the torch of the Gospell, in comparison of the riches, and prosperitie wherein God hath aduanced them? The Common wealth of Venice, doeth it enjoy lesse peace and prosperity then before, since they haue taken from the Pope one of his swords, and haue shaken off his temporall power? On the contrary side, the Kings of France, after they had giuen vnto the Popes all what they held in Italy; and the Countie of Auinion, haue againe receiued of them but coarse entertainmēt. Popes haue forged a donation of Constantine, to the end to deface the memory of the donation of Pepin, and Charlemaine: They haue troubled the State, banding themselves for the sons of Lewis the Courteous, against their owne father, whose life was an example of innocence: They haue skimmed the Realme of Money by infinite pillages, wherewith the Kings of France haue endeououred to meete, by their pragmaticall sanction: They haue oftentimes interdicted the Realme, degraded their Kings, solicited their neighbours to invade the kingdome, stirred vp the people against the King, whence many troubles and parricides haue ensued. Rauilliaerendred this reason of his attempt, because, said hee, the King would make warre against God, inasmuch as hee would make warre against the Pope, and that the Pope was God: Which maketh mee to maruell how the Cardinall could allege for example the late troubles, during which France fell soule with the Pope, seeing that the Pope himselfe raised vp those troubles. If the Kings or people of France, hauing offended the Pope, God had otherwayes sent among them some pestilence or famine, this might with some probabilitie haue been taken for a re-

Tt

uenge

venge of the iniurie done vnto his Vicar; but seeing the Pope himselfe hath caused these euils, it is not God who punisheth the iniuries done vnto the Pope, but the Pope who reuengeth himselfe, and which is worse, without receiuing any wrong: Whence it appeareth, that to exhort the Kingdome to maintaine vniou with the Pope, by the remembrance of the calamities past, is not to exhort them to loue the Pope, but to call to minde the euils which he hath caused, and to tremble at his thundrings, and conspiracies, which hurt those onely that feare them, and which haue drawen vpon my kingdome many blessings. Now if France haue had any prosperitie during the time that it well accorded with the Pope, this hath been because the Pope seeketh the amitie of those Princes that are in prosperitie, and which haue meanes to annoy him: Kings are not therefore in prosperitie because the Pope is vnited with them, but the Pope is vnited with them because they are in prosperitie: Euen as swallowes arrive in the spring, but make not the spring, so the Pope ioyneth himselfe to the prosperitie of kingdomes, but maketh not their prosperitie. But if there happen any disaster in a Kingdome, or any ciuill warre, which putteth an Estate in danger, the Pope vnder a shadow of hauing care of the saluation of soules, thrusteth himselfe into the quarrell, and runneth vnto the wracke to reape his profit thereby: And if a State change its Master, hee will that the new possessor, vnto whom hee hath giuen aide, hold the kingdome of his liberalitie; but if the ancient possessor conquer his enemies, notwithstanding the Popes thundrings, then his Holinesse offers him allsorts of Indulgences, and out of his compassion receiveth him againe, whom hee was not able to destroy. Hitherto his Maiestie, then which nothing can bee spoken more fully and effectually to this purpose.

For surely (not to speake of the prosperitie of forraigne countries, who haue broken off communion with the Roman Synagogue) he is more then blind that cannot see, and too too enuious, that seeing will not acknowledge, how extraordinarily God hath blessed this our Realme with all kind of benedictions more then in former times, since it held the Pope to bee Antichrist, and Rome Babylon, and departed from them.

* When the late Queene Elizabeth of blessed memorie vnder-
rooke

tooke the protection of the *Low-Countries* against so mightie a Prince as the King Catholike, all the world wondred at the greatnesse of her spirit, and the King of *Sweden* said, that *so doing she had puld the Crowne from her owne head*: yet so prosperous was she in all that she tooke in hand, so victorious in her warres, so beloued at home, so feared abroad, and in a word blessed with so continuall a course of happie successe in all things, euen to her liues end, that it hath forced euen from those, who almost hold it a sinne to giue the least commendation of Protestant Princes, an ingenuous and free acknowledgment thereof. [*A man may truly say of this Princesse* (saith *Florimond Remond*, otherwise a bitter enemy to these of our Religion,) *that excepting the matter of Religion, and for the world, she had as great glorie in her kingdome, continuing in all her affaires so well authorized, and carried matters with as great wisdom as any Prince that hath liued these many yeeres.*]

*Lib. Hist. 6.
cap. 10.*

But suppose we (though we haue sufficiently proued it to be otherwise) that *the defenders of the Roman Sea haue had temporall prosperitie and felicitie, and that wee haue seldome trined and prospered against them*; what would your Doctor hereupon inferre? That therefore we should forsake the Church whereof we are members, and with him retire our selues into the bosome of the *Romish Church*, where temporall prosperitie and felicitie is to be found? Indeepe it may bee that this was the Doctors chiefeſt motiue vnto his Apostacie, and that perceiuing his ambitious hopes to quaille at home, hee would trie his fortunes there, where Abbeyes, and Bishopricks, and perhappes also Cardinalshippes are promised to such, as with more diligence then others, negotiate for the *Pope*. But I would faine know of him how this agreeth with that which he saith else where, that *the Crosse is the most precious iewell of our Sauour Christ, and that of this iewell hee alwayes giueth the greatest portion to his dearest friends*: For if the dearest friends of *Christ* be those of whom the Church consisteth, and they haue the greatest portion of *his Crosse*, then is not temporall prosperitie and felicitie a note of your Church: and if it be, then is not *the Crosse* the portion thereof. But to con-

1. Tim. 4.

* Mat. 5. 45.

* Eccles. 9. 1.

2. De Civit. Dei.
Lib. 1. cap. 8.

clude all, although * *Pietie haue the promise euen of this life*, and the Church of God sometime abound in these worldly blessings, yet is it with condition of *the Crosse*, as God shall in his deepe wisdom thinke it fittest, and such a *blessing* as euen the Church of the inalignant may be, and euer hath been partaker of. For the * *Sunne riseth, and the raine falleth indifferently vpon toib*: * *And no man knoweth either loue or hatred by all that is before him*. Yea euen the *Iesuits of Rhemes* on the place of *Mathew* before alledged confesse as much: *We see* (say they) *that temporall prosperity of persons & countreyes, is no signe of better men, or truer Religion*; but as * *S. Austin* saith, *Temporall goods and euils are common both to the iust and wicked: which God therefore dispenseth in this sort, that neither we too greedily comēt those goods which wee see the wicked haue, nor basely auoide those euils which light vpon the good*. Wherefore all this discourse of the D^r. is impertinent and friuolous.

As touching the *Storie of Burden and his associates* (with which he concludes his vsauorie collections) how they went in Procession from *Doner* to *Canterbury* in dirision of *Catholikes*, and how grievously God punished it vpon them, I hold it for no better then a meere *Canterburie tale*, or to speake in the *Romish* dialect, a godly fraud, or lie deuised for the aduantage of his holy Mother, such as is the baiting of *Catholikes* sewed vp in Beare-skins with *Matthiues* in *Doner*. And further answered then this I vouchsafe it not.

Soli Deo immortalis sit gloria.

FINIS.

Errata.

THe Authour being farre from the Presse whiles the Booke was in it; the more faults in printing must needs escape, whereof the chiefe obserued are these:

*Pag. 22 and 23. the letters of reference in the Doctors text are mistaken. Pag. 47. lin. 6. marg. for, Chapt. 2 45. reade Chap. 1. Sect. 19. Pag. 59. lin. 27. for, Patilian, reade Petilian. Pag. 72. lin. 17. for estate from, reade estate in her conceit from. Pag. 73. lin. 6. for was not more, reade was more. Pag. 99. the quotations are disorderly placed. Pag. 100. lin. 11. for of his booke, reade of his 5. booke. Pag. 109. lin. 17. for more that, reade more but that. Pag. 164. the marginall note to bee set against the 27. line. Pag. 191. lin. 33. for Stanley, reade Stucley. Pag. 197. lin. 32. for his owne, reade his owne neece. Pag. 219. lin. 12. marg. for is not, reade is. Pag. 235. marg. wants distance betwixt *Smarez*, and *Stannanoir*. Pag. 256. lin. 2. marg. for your Preachers, reade our Preachers. Pag. 275. lin. 4. marg. for Monsieur Seruius, reade Monsieur Seruins. Pag. 277. lin. vs. for alteration, reade Altercation. Pag. 279. lin. 35. for enuie, reade inueigh.*

Elias claudit cetum annis 3. 3034. Eliezer propheta
2. chron. 20. v. 37. Joiada Sacerdos Hazael rex
Syrie 2. reg. 10. 32. Joiada Sacerdos optimi de
regno meritis obit annos 140 natus. 3094.
Aladus Latinorum Rex impius, cum tonitrua mi-
lari conaretur, cum toto palatio hiatu terre ablon-
tus vestigia adiu exhibuisse in laem pellente,
Dionysius de suo tempore scribit lib. 1. vixit Diony-
sius tempore Augusti. Amenophis. 2939.
Ophochon Eusebio Ophochor. Sefonais Scriptura
vocat Sefach. 1. Reg. 11. 800000.
Expeditis Argonautarum in Colchos. Hercules
Aglaus Amphion. Parichymnus, Astofason.
Bellum troianum. Amaraones pro arce belli Aro-
pagum munierunt. & Marti hostias immolabant
2780. Hyllus filius Herculis in monomachia
interfectus Alba longa condita 30 annos à Lauro
2799. Lacedaemoniorum Dynastia 2. Heraclidam
prior n. Dynastia ab Eurota. Euryphemon frater
Proctis Alatus 2839. Cadmus Melanthi fr. vlti-
mus Rex. 2860. Linus Aegypti Frateris Danaï
filius. Erichthrus pandionis fr. / Erychthys filia
Orithyiam Bores Aethra filius rapuit, 2853.

How put no trust in his servants & his Angels
hath been charged with folly How much lesse
them that dwell in houses of clay whose foundation
is in y^e dust who are crushed before y^e moth.
they are destroyed from morning to evening.

A voice said to speak this to man lifting up himself
beyond god. Shall mortall man be more wth than
god, god can find matter against his angels much
lesse can man justify himself before him. shall a
man be more pure than his maker? But hee
put no trust in his servants, those that were nearest
to him, & his angels hath been charged with folly
if his angels wth differ much in glory & excellency
to mankind, much more man. Hee put no trust in
he found no trust in his servants, they forsake him
they fell from him, they are deprived of y^e glory of
god, & his angels hath been charged with folly.

Job. 6.
Dwell in houses of clay fruits waste men whose
foundation is in y^e dust taken out of y^e dust, returned to
y^e dust. soon gone how shortly these justify them
selves before god. Job. 40. 15. man is weaker, man
is unstable & not able to walke with god in upright
ness. Job. 9. 15. y^e angels fell from god by y^e lightness
of their sin, that followed pride disobedience, hatred
of god, folly. No trust to any creature they come
out of nothing, can hold nothing. so soon - other
things sins of a more spiritual nature. They are
29th or 30th
or.

to y^e Jews Rom: 11. Gen: 29. 4. & Jam: 4. 14.
Trust not in any creature if it cannot be faithfull
to it selfe much lesse to another to serve it, the
poor nely, can they pay us up they were foolish - the
owne apostle, can they be faithfull in ours. For as
they that trust in by y^e vanities, forsake their owne
meaty. If you trust vainly it shall be your recompense
God trusted not y^e Angels how might he have said of the
they are children who will not by but they were
found faulty., his first borne said he would doe it &
did not. His 2d said hee would not doe it & did it
Angels first day when god dyspleased y^e light
for y^e darkness & their fi & y^e first fi.

Know thou I & god of thy

Madam Christian under figure. known ground,
ed, for magna sunt premia
four were wise, four foolish, & with like odds in their
lamps grace in their hearts lamps burning you see
bring for you in. They hundred years
ye god's grace came. & with first old foolish have
why is there a price in ye hand of a fool to sell com
down, too little we hear, will not find. & have
was that grace taken away, yet & buy? in death
there is the remembrance of those no man shall
more than will serve himself, yet & buy for you
sinner.

